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ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE IN FRANCE

EDITED AND WITH
AN INTRODUCTION
BY
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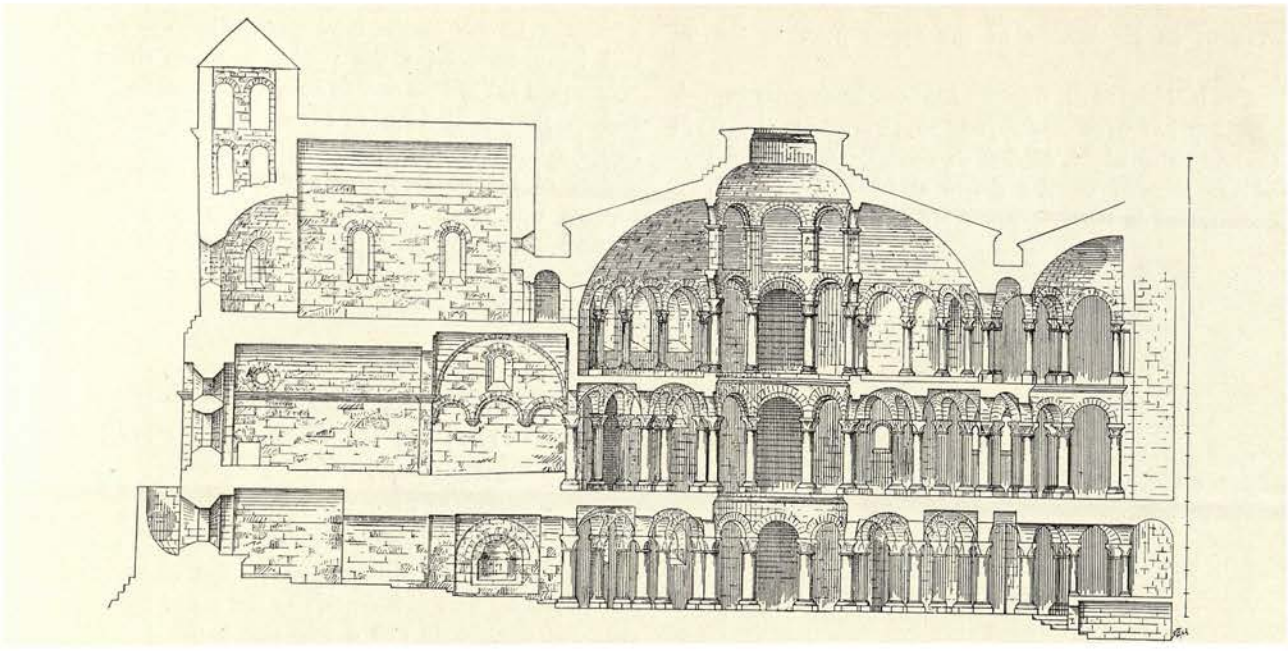
PREFACE

FRENCH ROMANESQUE architecture, which is more magnificent than the early mediæval architecture of any other country, has been dealt with extensively, but not exhaustively. Those who study this book should also consult the works mentioned in the Bibliography. The history of French Romanesque plastic arts has not been so thoroughly investigated, but the Bibliography also conveys information as to work done in this field.

Of course, it is not possible to compare the very brief introduction of this volume with the profound and extensive investigations accumulated in the large art histories, especially with those we owe to French scholars. The object of the introductory text of this book is merely to show how French culture of the Middle Ages is mirrored in the works of art of the country. On the soil of France dwelt romanized Celts, who mixed, in the south, with the Visigoths and, in the north, with the Burgundians, Franks and Normans. Whereas the Visigoths, like their eastern brethren in Italy, have been assimilated by the autochthonous culture, the Teutonic element was better able to hold its own in the north of France. Southern France, taken as a whole, has preserved from antiquity her tranquil equipoise and feeling for harmonious restraint so typical of an anthropocentric attitude towards life. The inhabitant of northern France, like the liberty-loving Teuton, prefers the dynamic to the static when giving expression to his forms of art. However, in making such a statement one should avoid generalizing. Examples of architecture expressive of anthropocentric conceptions are sometimes also met with in the north. They cannot, however, be regarded as autochthonous, but rather as due to external influence or to ritual requirements. On the other hand, the sculptural art of Moissac and other places in the south-west is of such a restless character that it is by no means compatible with the classic treatment of the plans and façades of this district: it cannot have emanated from the Roman spirit of the inhabitants, but rather from Celtic atavism. But there are exceptions. Taken altogether, there can be no mistaking the difference between the placid and continued enjoyment of ancient Mediterranean culture in the south and the slow awakening of the north, with its vehement desire to catch up with the south and to evolve an individual style of its own. Thus the contrast between the north and the south is highly instructive. An effort has been made in the Introduction to elucidate its effect on the art of the country. It aims at pointing out the great and most important features constituting the marked difference between southern and northern architecture. The time has not yet come to present a fundamental representation of the history of development of the various styles.

The editor was assisted in his travels by the Technical High School, Stuttgart, the "Verein der Freunde" of this institute, and by the Wurtemberg "Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften." He has much pleasure in expressing his thanks for this assistance as well as for that rendered him by both French and German colleagues. His thanks are also due to the institutes and photographic publishers mentioned, who helped so materially in enabling him to produce the illustrated section of this book.

Julius Baum.



1. Dijon, St. Bénigne, Central Type, Cross-section

ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE IN FRANCE

I.

THE CENTRAL TYPE

The Roman settlement in Gaul resulted in the erection of a great number of magnificent edifices. Even the north has no dearth. In the south they are still numerous: temples, theatres, amphitheatres, thermæ, towers, tombs and triumphal arches. And if, in our own times, they vest the southern provinces of France with a charm all their own, how greatly must they have influenced those who once lived in their shadow, and who knew themselves to be the immediate heirs to the great past for which these noble edifices stood.

During the early centuries of the Christian Era the new belief adopted the old form without changing it to any great extent. Both in France and Italy pagan edifices were transformed into Christian places of worship. The decagonal domed Temple of Apollo in Toulouse, now called La Daurade, after its Christian gold mosaics, is a remarkable example. But newly built Christian churches were also constructed in imitation of antique models. The disposition of the walls of St. Pierre at Vienne or of the crypt of St. Laurent in Grenoble could easily have been that of a pagan edifice. But especially the ancient Christian centrally planned buildings, such as the baptisteries at Aix, Riez[1] (both with columned ambulatory) and Venasque, and St. Jean at Poitiers are so well planned that there is an echo of antique serenity. In the same manner as the architect of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle followed the plan of an older central type, so, too, does the Greek cross of the ground plan of Germigny-des-Prés follow an eastern model.

During the whole of the early Middle Ages the predilection for the central type lingered on, nay, was even encouraged, after the Crusades by the example of the magnificent edifices in Constantinople, Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Holy Land and Arabia.

In the Middle Ages it seemed particularly desirable to copy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Drawings of this church,[1] dating from the Carlovingian period are still extant. Whereas, in Germany, the architect limited himself to the general circular plan[2] in copying this edifice, there were exact copies in France long before the Crusades. St. Bénigne at Dijon (Pl. I and Figs. 1, 2), which was commenced in 1001, was a gallery basilica, connected in the east with a circular building consisting of several storeys with two ambulatories in the lower ones and one in the upper. Only the lower story, connected with the crypt of the nave, is preserved. Fifteenth century Dutch paintings[3]

[1] Ground plan of the baptistery at Riez, in De Lasteyrie's "L'Architecture religieuse en France," 1912, p. 125.

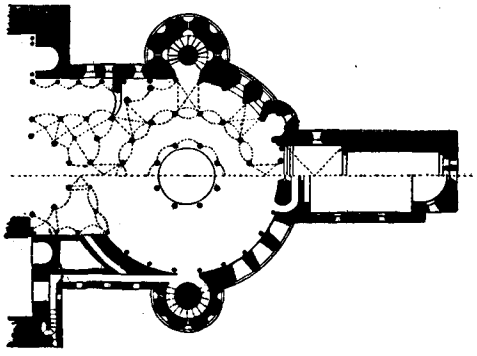
[1] See Hermann: "Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien," I, 1923, p. 139 (Codex 458, Salzburg c. 850).

[2] See Dalman, "Das Grab Christi in Deutschland," 1922.

[3] As to copies of the interior of St. Bénigne on Rogier's Columba Altar cf. Winkler: "Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden," 1913, p. 173.

give us an impression of the upper part of the interior.

The building of St. Bénigne has been frequently copied. Flavigny has been destroyed, so, too, has the crypt (before 1010) of St. Michel de Cuxa.[1] The central part of the rotunda of the church at Charroux (Pls. 2, 3), consecrated in 1096, is preserved in its full height. The



2. Dijon, St. Bénigne, Rotunda, Ground Plan

church at Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre (Pl. 4), commenced 1042 *ad forma sancti sepulcri Jerosolimitani*, differs from the others, and was, perhaps, directly influenced by models in Jerusalem. The lower part dates from this period, the second storey was built about 1120, and the upper part only completed in the 19th century. The crypt of Lémenc (Savoy) is octagonal in plan and has an ambulatory. There is a circular building, with ambulatory and four apses, in St. Léonard (Haute-Vienne).[2] Both Montmorillon (Vienne) and Laon have a Templars' church, the latter with a small choir.[3] The baptistery of Mélas (Ardèche) is octagonal in plan and has four apses.

The number of small circular or octagonal sepulchral chapels and the churches of the 11th and 12th centuries dedicated to St. Michael is considerable.[4] Only St. Michel d'Entraigues (Charente), commenced in 1137, is of considerable size. It is octagonal in plan, with apses on each side (Pls. 5, 6).

The chapel of Ste. Croix at Montmajour (Pl. 7) was rebuilt about 1200, and is a cube with four apses. Its form is both pure and restrained, and foreshadows the severe features of Florentine Early Renaissance. On the other hand, Ste. Croix in Quimperlé (Finistère, Brittany Pl. 22) is a strikingly clumsy central building with four central pillars supporting a raised vault, closely akin to the Danish churches at Bjernede (1186) and Thorsager.[5] The church at Planès in the Pyrenees, which was built later, is on the angular plan, with three apses.

The central type was not the predominating one in the Middle Ages, but the numerous attempts during the flourishing periods of art to combine its basilican plan with that of the central type bear witness to an artistic will bent on solving the problem along these lines. "Numquid est in toto mundo aula tam mirabilis?" writes Bishop Benzo of Alba to Henry IV[1] in reference to San Lorenzo at Milan, the most magnificent central edifice of the Middle Ages; nor was he the only one to express this view. It is certain that, at least in the Mediterranean countries, people were able at this early period to appreciate fully the harmony of a centrally planned building.

II.
SAINT-FRONT IN PÉRIGUEUX AND THE AQUITANIAN DOMED CHURCHES[2]

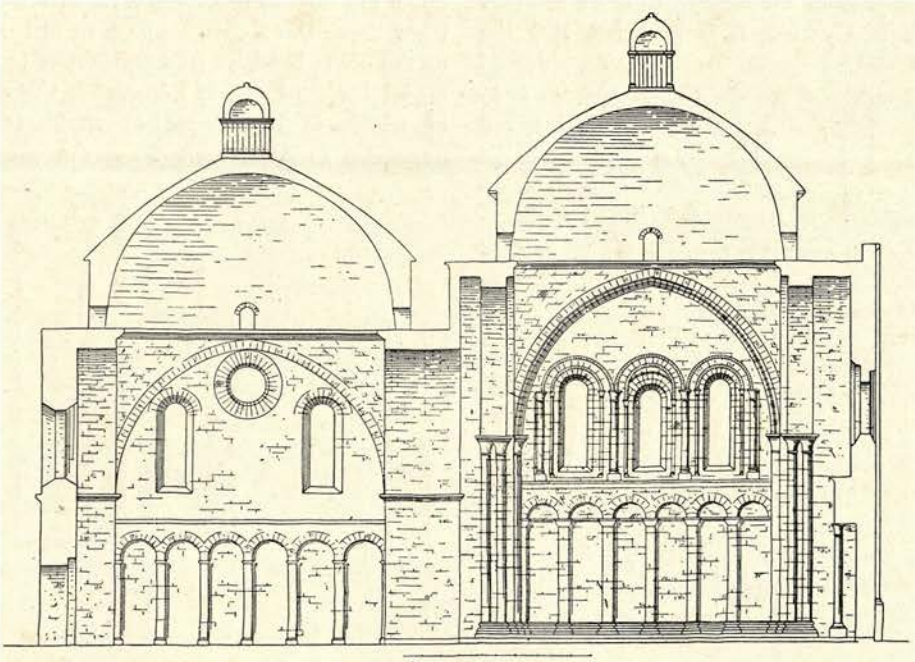
The central edifices are either roofed with groined vaults or domes. The Roman technique of dome vaulting did not perish in Gaul during the centuries immediately succeeding the fall of the Empire. But architecture in all its phases declined, especially the art of constructing spacious domes. In 910 it was not without difficulties that the domed crossing[3] of Ste. Colombe at Sens was erected. Germigny-des-Prés (consecrated in 806) has, in accordance with Oriental models, a square plan divided into nine sections by means of four supports, and the central section is accentuated by a cupola on pendentives. The transepts are barrel vaulted and terminate in apses with semicircular domes.[4]

The question as to how a plan such as that of St. Front at Périgueux was evolved has not been solved. Theoretically, a development of the ground plan out of that pertaining to autochthonous Carlovingian buildings, such as Germigny-des-Prés, is conceivable. As a matter of fact, however, the only relationship between the monumental structure of Périgueux and the simple Carlovingian churches arises from their both imitating Oriental models, though at different periods. It is a pity Abadie so entirely spoiled the original structure at Périgueux, that the most careful studies only result in hypotheses. The latest investigations merely established the fact that the domed church was erected behind the site of the older basilica; the surrounding walls are still extant in the tower and narthex.

[1] See Enlart, Manuel, p. 241.
[2] Ground plan in De Lasteyrie, op. cit., p. 282.
[3] Ground plan in De Lasteyrie, op. cit., p. 280.
[4] Enlart, op. cit., p. 243 et seq., gives a complete list, and there is a view of St. Clair d'Aiguilhe near Le-Puy in De Lasteyrie, op. cit., p. 281.
[5] Ground plan in Enlart, op. cit., p. 243.

[1] Benzo ad Heinricum IV imperatorem, ed. Pertz, Mon. Germ. XIII, 680.
[2] Bibliography: De Verneilh, "L'architecture byzantine en France," 1851. Dehio and v. Bezold, "Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes, I," 1892, p. 377 *et seq.* Spiers, "Saint-Front, Bulletin monumental," 1897. Bruteils, "L'archéologie du moyenâge," 1900. Bertaux, "L'art dans l'Italie méridionale," 1904, p. 395 *et seq.* Witting, "Westfranzösische Kuppelkirchen," 1904. Besnard, "Études sur les coupoles et voûtes domicales du Sud-Ouest de la France, Congrès archéol. Angoulême," 1912, p. 119 *et seq.* Enlart, "Manuel d'archéologie française I," 1919, p. 233 *et seq.* Strzygowski, "Ursprung der christlichen Kirchenkunst," 1920, p. 76 *et seq.* Roux, "La basilique Saint-Front," 1920. De Fayolle, "La basilique Saint-Front," Bull. mon. 1920. Rey, "La cathédrale de Cahors et les origines de l'architecture à coupoles d'Aquitaine," 1925. Diehl, "Manuel d'art byzantine, II," 1926, p. 720 *et seq.*
[3] Enlart, Manuel, p. 189.
[4] The most important work on this building before its restoration is Bonet's "L'église de Germigny-des-Prés," Bull. mon., 1868. As to the origin of the ground plan, cf. Glück: "Probleme des Wölbungsbaues, I," 1921, p. 45 *et seq.* The spread of this style is elucidated by the kindred ground plans of Germigny and S. Satiro in Milan, and is dealt with by De Lasteyrie (op. cit., pp. 145, 177)

In Périgord and the neighbouring districts we find the single-aisled domed aulic churches. Single-aisled churches are frequently met with in southern France. Especially Provence developed the beautiful barrel-vaulted type, which will be discussed later. There is only one big hall, the collected and harmonious impression of which is strengthened by the barrel roof. The effect of the domed churches of Aquitaine is quite different. There the cupola rises only above the square field. Its natural place is on the centrally planned building, and an edifice with a series of domes in the axis of the nave can only produce a row of separate compartments. The feeling for the necessity of one dominating central dome resulted in planning the central buildings pure and simple — such as the church of St. Front and the barrel-vaulted aulic churches—with transept and domed crossing. However, most of the extant domed edifices are merely a series of domed compartments without a transept.[1]



3. Périgueux, St. Étienne, Longitudinal Section.

Four enormous piers, on the square plan, carry the wide vaults from which pendentives spring and upon which the dome rests. The surrounding walls are decorated with wall ribs, under which, high up in the wall, a few large windows provide a sufficiency of light. The walls are also frequently decorated with wall arcades running up half the height of the building. The whole plan of the domed compartments was doubtless inspired by older edifices. The question arises whether they were suggested by Roman buildings in Gaul, as has been proved in connection with vaulted aulic churches. It is possible that local Roman edifices served as models for the small clearly proportioned and carefully constructed cupolas and groined walls resting on pierced tambours, as often met with in Provence.[1] But what inspired the Aquitanian domed churches, and in which part of Gaul were such cubic compartments first strung together in order to form one edifice?

It is not possible to trace a single antique edifice on the soil of Gaul that served as a model for the great domed Aquitanian aulic churches. The predilection for harmonious, centrally planned edifices, as well as the Roman technique of vaulting, may have lingered on during the first Christian millenium. But the impetus to revive this magnificent type of building doubtless resulted from pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and from the Crusades. Strzygowski considers their remote origin to be in Iran. But it would seem that Byzantium exercised less influence than Armenia and Cyprus. "It is noteworthy that in these churches the domes are not supported by squinch arches, but by pendentives, which did not, however, consist of arch-stones, but of courses of stone each projecting beyond and carried by the one below, and following in plan a curve concentric with that of the plan of the dome. This was the technique in Armenia, where also the wall arcade was favoured."[2]

Indeed, there are Armenian aulic churches, such as those of Thalish, Shirakavan and others similar,[3] which

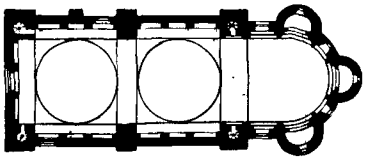
[1] Domed Churches (according to Rey, Cath. de Cahors): Charente: Angoulême Cathedral (with transept, Plates 9-11, 58), Bourg-Charente, Champmillon (cupolas of later date), Chartres, Cherves, Cognac Saint-Léger (*c.* 1150-1170), Fléac, Gensac-la-Pallue, Saint-Martin (*c.* 1160-1170, Plates 22, 59), Gourville, Mesnac, Péreuil, Peyrat, Roullet. Charente-Inférieure: Sablonceaux, Saint-Romain-de-Benet, Saintes Saint-Pierre, Saintes Sainte Marie, Dordogne: Ajat, Allemans, Bochaud, Bourdeille, Bourg-les-Maisons-Brantôme, Cherval, Grand-Brassac, Léguillac-de-Cercles, Léguillac-de-Lauche Lempzours, Ligueux, Mareuil, Paunat, Paussac, Périgueux Saint-Étienne (western compartments consecrated *c.* 1120 eastern compartment *c.* 1163, Plates 17, 18), Périgueux Saint-Front (on the Greek-cross plan, after 1122, Plates 14-16), Périgueux Saint-Silvain (destroyed), Saint-Avit-Sénieur (1117 with transept-like recesses, vault of a more recent date), Saint-Jean-de-Côle (restoration of an older edifice, dating from 1080), Saint-Martial-de-Viveyrol, Temniac, Thiviers, Trémolat, Tursac, Verteillac, Vieux-Mareuil (transept-like recesses). Gironde: Fronsac, Pleine-Selve, Saint-Emilion, Saint-Philippe d'Aiguille. Haut-Vienne: Le Vigen, Solignac (with transept, 1143, Choir rebuilt 1178-1211, Plates 19 and 20). Lot: Cahors Cathedral (consecrated in 1119, Plates 12 and 13), Fontanes, Souillac (with transept, *c.* 1120-1140). Lot-et-Garonne: Agen Saint-Caprais, Laurenque. Maine-et-Loire: Fontevrault (restored *c.* 1160). Tarn-et-Garonne: Moissac (original plan), Saux. Vienne: Coussay-les-Bois. Compare Puig y Cadafalch, "L'arquitectura romanica a Catalunya, II," 1911, p. 103 *et seq.* on the Catalonian domed churches on the same plan.

[1] See ground plan and section of the Notre-Dame-des-Doms cupola at Avignon, Enlart, Manuel, p. 310.

[2] See Strzygowski, "Ursprung," p. 77 A.

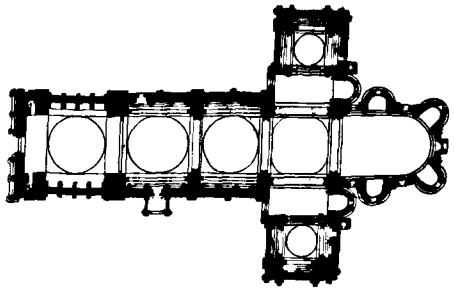
[3] See Strzygowski, "Die Baukunst der Armenier," I, 1918, p. 190 *et seq.*

have a central domed compartment akin to those of the Aquitanian churches; but there are no aulic churches with domes in the axis of the nave in Armenia. Enlart[1] considers the models to be Cypriote churches, such as S. Lazarus near Larnaca, S. Barnabas near Famagusta, Panagia Kanakaria near Leonarisa. Cyprus also seems to have influenced French aulic churches, as is proved by the horizontal rings of the arch stones as well as the slightly pointed vaults. But the Cypriote churches are three-aisled aulæ with barrel-vaulted aisles and domed nave. The plan of the Aquitanian aulic churches is not met with in Cyprus. It is probable that the Aquitanian domed church and its technique were inspired by pilgrimages to the East — "Il demeure assurément quelque-chose d'obscur dans le fait que ces coupoles romanes se trouvent si éloignées des ports qui étaient en relations constantes avec l'Orient: mais les emprunts semblent si caractéristiques, qu'il faut accepter le fait sans en pouvoir fournir une explication certaine."[2] Setting aside the problems of the origin and technique of the single-domed compartments, we should, however, remember that only Aquitaine, and no other district, created aulic churches with domed compartments in line. This system was not introduced till shortly before 1100. Cahors Cathedral (Fig. 4) and the western section of St. Étienne at Périgueux (Fig. 3) belong to the earliest of their type.[3]

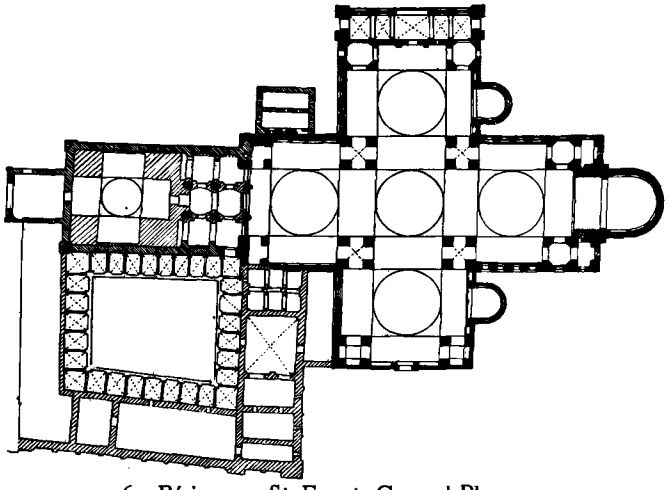


4. Cahors Cathedral, Ground Plan

There is a group of transitionary edifices between the type of the plain domed aulic church and the magnificent Greek-cross plan of St. Front. The transitionary style is represented by Angoulême Cathedral (commenced 1101, the west bay dates from this period without the shafts on the piers, choir about 1135, façade almost completed in 1128, Pls. 9, 10, 11, 58, Fig. 5) as well as by the churches of Solignac (consecrated in 1143, the choir 1178—1211, Pls. 19, 20) and by Souillac (Pl. 21). Angoulême Cathedral is characterised by a crossing surmounted by a dome supported by a tambour pierced with windows. The transepts are barrel vaulted and domed. The choir is also barrel vaulted, and the nave is on the plan of the domed aulic churches. Here, at least in the east part of the structure, a centralizing tendency is already manifest. The domes over the crossing of the other two churches are not emphasized by tambour. A similar type of church was planned in St. Caprais at Agen (Pl. 39). We recognize in these churches the tendency to make the dome the dominating feature. It is hardly necessary to trace these three churches back to Oriental models, but, on the other hand, we must endeavour to find an Oriental model for St. Front at Périgueux, the original exterior of which is reproduced in Plate 16.[1] There are numerous Oriental edifices on the plan of the Greek cross, beginning with the Church of the Apostles in Byzantium and St. John's at Ephesus. In Cyprus even the connection of the piers by barrel vaults and cupolas was frequent.[2] But if St. Front can be traced back to such edifices as the five-domed Peristerona in Cyprus, there is, nevertheless, no reason why St. Mark's in Venice, the nearest and most closely related church of this type, should be excluded as a model. The fame of this greatest central building was just spreading when St. Front was rebuilt (Fig. 6).



5. Angoulême Cathedral, Ground Plan



6. Périgueux, St. Front, Ground Plan

Although the system of the domed compartments is always the same, yet there is great scope as to the proportions of height and width. The proportions of the height (from the springing) of the barrel vault and the span are, in St. Étienne at Périgueux 1 : 1.75, at Solignac 1 : 1.66, Cahors 1 : 1.55, at Angoulême 1 : 1.13, at Souillac 1 : 1.05, in St. Front at Périgueux 1 : 0.89.[3]

[1] Enlart, Manuel, p. 233 *et seq.*
[2] See Diehl, "Manuel d'art byzantin, II," 1926, p. 721.
[3] See Rey, "La cathédrale de Cahors," 1925.

[1] Roux' suggestion that it should be dated back to the 11th century is not sufficiently supported by facts.
[2] See Heisenberg, "Die Apostelkirche," 1908. — Wulff, "Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst, I," 1914, p. 381. — Diehl, "Manuel d'art byzantin I," 1925, p. 178 *et seq.*, where there is also a bibliography (p. 182) of recent excavations at Ephesus.
[3] See Dehio and v. Bezold, "Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes, I," 1892, p. 336.

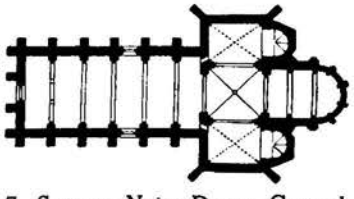
The domed churches did not develop a uniform choir plan. Attention was devoted so entirely to domed compartments that the ground plan and development of the choir were considered to be of secondary importance; in no other part of France during the Romanesque period are liturgical requirements so neglected in favour of purely artistic conceptions. In St. Étienne, the former cathedral church of Périgueux, the eastern domed compartment is not recessed. Most of the other churches have a simple semicircular apse with radiating chapels and no ambulatory. Sometimes a vaulting compartment in three-aisled aulic churches was covered with a dome, *e.g.* at Saintes and at La-Souterraine.[1]

The domed vaulting in Aquitaine disappears at the end of the 12th century. Several single-aisled aulic churches were re-roofed with sexpartite or octopartite ribbed groined vaults of the type shown on Pl. 49 (sacristy of Ste-Radegonde, Poitiers). Examples are, the nave of Ste-Radegonde, which was changed from a three-aisled narrow "hall"[2] church into a spacious aulic one, and St.-Avit-Sénieur (Dordogne),[3] where groined vaulting replaced the originally planned domes. The earliess example of such vaulting influenced by Norman edifices it in the neighbourhood of Aquitaine in St.-Aubin's, Angers, In this church, built 1127—1154, the vaulting is still sexpartite. The octopartite vault is found in La Trinité. at Angers, and in Notre-Dame-de-la-Couture at Le-Mans.[4] St. Ours at Loches has high octagonal pyramids which are also visible from the outside.

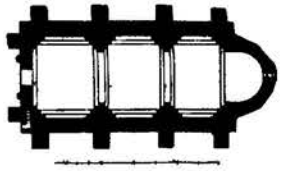
III.

BARREL-VAULTED AULIC CHURCHES

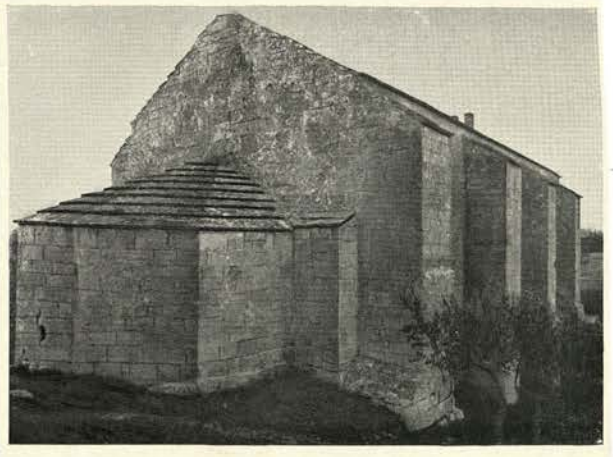
The barrel-vaulted aulic churches no more accord with liturgic requirements than do the single-aisled domed churches. Though no immediate model of the single-aisled domed churches has been discovered among the Roman monuments in Gaul, the barrel-vaulted aulic church has predecessors wherever Roman culture spread, and, therefore, in the pre-Christian architecture of Gaul, too. The so-called temple of Diana at Nîmes still stands, and is far superior to all later copies, both as to the beauty of its proportions and the careful execution of its details. The barrel-vaulted mediæval churches have such harmonious proportions and unity of form that they seem very much akin to antique buildings, and are, so to speak, examples of a renascence of antique architecture which was otherwise postponed till the fifteenth century. It is possible that west Roman and Oriental influences are fused in the plan of French Romanesque vaulted aulic churches. Strzygowski[1] is inclined to see Oriental influence in the barrel vaults with transverse ribs, in the semicircular apse, especially when the outer walls are polygonal, and in the trefoiled choir, and also in the absence of timber roofs. But it is not unusual to find tiled edifices or those roofed with stone slabs throughout the whole of the Mediterranean countries. On the other hand, churches in which the apse and the transept are on the trefoil plan (as in St. Martin-de-Londres in connection with a barrel-vaulted nave and dome over the crossing, as well as in St. Macaire,[2] a cross-vaulted aulic church) are rare in the south of France. The casing of the choir (cf. St. Quinin, Vaison, Fig. 10, and the Abbey Church of Montmajour, Pl. 7) is rare when compared with the number of aulic churches. Oriental influence was not so pronounced in the barrel-vaulted aulic churches as in the domed churches.



7. Saumur, Notre-Dame, Ground Plan



8. St. Gabriel, Ground Plan



9. St. Gabriel, from the East

The barrel-vaulted aulic churches are spread farther afield than the domed churches.[3] The former are met

[1] The basilicas of St. Hilaire at Poitiers (Pls. 23, 41) and Notre-Dame at Le-Puy (Pls. 100, 101) and edifices modelled such as at Champagne (Ardèche, Pl. 74) are in no way connected with the Aquitanian domed structures. Their naves are roofed with groined vaults, as was often the case in France when domes were placed over the crossing. For the connection between Poitiers and Le-Puy, *vide* Enlart Manuel, p. 316 and mention made of these buildings in the List of Illustrations.

[2] See foot-note p. 11.

[3] See illustrations in De Lasteyrie, op. cit. p. 474.

[4] See Dehio and v. Bezold, p. 346 *et seq.* Pl. 102.

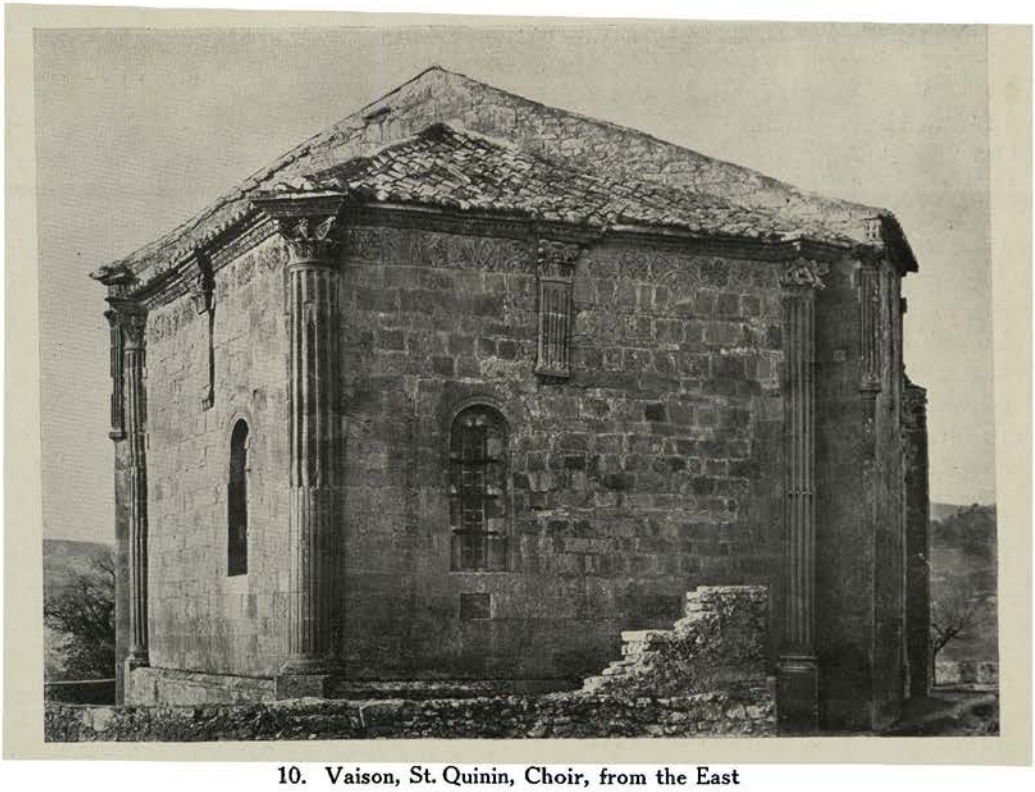
[1] See Strygowski, "Ursprung," p. 74 *et seq.*

[2] See Dehio and v. Bezold, Pl. 93.

[3] Bibliography: Revoil, "Architecture romane du midi de la France," 1873; Labande, "Études d'histoire et d'archéologie romane, Provence et Bas-Languedoc," 1902; Labande, "Guide archéologique du congrès d'Avignon," 1909; Anglès, "Les églises à berceaux transversaux dans le Rouergue," Bulletin monumental, 1910. List of barrel vaulted aulic churches according to Dehio and v. Bezold, p. 321 *et seq.* and Enlart, Manuel, p. 262: South Eastern France. Alpes-Maritimes: Cannes Sainte-Anne. Ardèche, Saint-Montaut, Thines. Basses-Alpes: Digne Notre-Dame (Pl. 24), Ganagobine, Saint-Martin-de-Brômes, Seyne. Bouches-du-Rhône: Aix,

with in great numbers in the valley of the lower Rhone, as well as interspersed between the Aquitanian domed churches. This type of church is found once in a while as far north as the middle section of the Loire. These aulic churches are an expression of the Mediterranean feeling for harmonious spacing. The windows are still inserted in the vertical wall and not in the lunette of the vault. They are often lacking altogether in the nave, in which case light is provided by the apse window or through the groined vault. The choirs vary greatly, as does the manner of connecting them with the nave.

The church of St. Gabriel near Tarascon (Figs. 8, 9, 11, 12) represents the simplest type, and the façade, as well as the interior, are more reminiscent of antique models than those of other churches. The choir, in the shape of a small apse, terminates the barrel-vaulted and thick walled nave. The church of Les-Saintes-Maries, with its crypt and its internally unimpressive eastern tower (Pl. 77), may be compared to St. Gabriel. In St. Pierre-de-Rèdes and in St. Quinin at Vaison there are three little niches in the wall of the apse; the choir of the latter is strengthened by casing (Fig. 10).



10. Vaison, St. Quinin, Choir, from the East

Sometimes the effect of the interior of a choir is augmented by the inclusion of an arch in front of the eastern bay, which is also emphasized by a pierced groined vault, as, for instance, in Le-Thor, Cavaillon and in Notre-Dame-des-Doms, Avignon (Pl. 112). At Orange, the choir, with the groined vault, is narrower than the nave, which is provided with very strong abutments.

Frequently, especially in the south-west of France, a transept with apses in the east was inserted between the nave and the choir. In the abbey church of Montmajour and in the church of Maguelone the ends of the transept are merely chapels. Sometimes the above-mentioned wall niches transform the eastern part of the church into a trefoiled choir; as, for instance, in St. Martin-de-Londres and in St. Macaire. Aquitaine favoured long transepts with east apses, a tower over the crossing and a choir apse. The earliest and most important example is the church at Layrac near Agen (1063 – 1102) with the

Montmajour (Pl. 7), Les-Saintes-Maries, Saint-Gabriel, Tarascon Sainte-Marthe (1187). Drôme: Die, Lachau, Notre-Dame-de-Calma, Saint-Restitut. Gard: Nîmes. Hautes-Alpes: Largentière. Saône-et-Loire: Ameugny, Saint-Marcel-de-Cluny, Saint-Martin-de-Lixy, Tizé. Var: La-Celle (in Brignolles). Vaucluse: Avignon Notre-Dame-des-Doms, Cavaillon, Courthezon, Le-Thor (western bays cross-vaulted), Orange, Vaison Saint-Quinin. Southwestern France: Ariège: Axiat, Bénac, Unac. Aveyron Pers. Charente: Charras, Chazelle, Champmillon, Charmant, Saint-Constant, Courcôme, Dignac, Fouquebrune, Garat, Grassac, Marthon, Montbron, Montmoreau, Mouthiers-sur-Boëme, Olérot, La-Palud, Trois-Palis Puymoyen, Puyperoux, Rétaud (Pl. 34), Richemont, Rioux-Martin, Vars. Charente-Inférieure: Avy-en-Pons, Biron, Cornue-Royal, Échebrune, Échillais, Écoyeux, Écurat, Fénioux, Marignac, Rioux (Pl. 32). Deux-Sèvres: Clusais, Ensigné, Germond, Saint-Ouenne, Saint-Romans. Dordogne: Chancelade, Montagrier, Tayac. Haute-Garonne: Mousannès, Toulouse, Saint-Étienne. Gironde: Cornemps, Petit-Palais, Hérault: Agde (Pl. 76), Celleneuve, Maguelone, Saint-Michel-de-Grandmont, Saint-Pierre-de-Rèdes, Saint-Pons Lot-et-Garonne: Layrac, Cocumont, Cuzorn, Sainte-Livrade, Saint-Pierre-de-Buzet. Vianne. Maine-et-Loire: Saumur Notre-Dame (Fig. 7 in letterpress). Mayenne: Évron Saint-Crépin. Hautes-Pyrenées: Luz. Tarn-et-Garonne: Le-Grezat, Sistels. Vienne: Montmorillon, Hôtel-Dieu. Central France. Allier: Cognac (ground plan Dehio and v. Bezold, Pl. 97). Cher: Soulangy. Corrèze: Arnac-Pompadour. Creuse: Bénévent-l'Abbaye (interior in De Lasteyrie, Pl. 249). Haute-Loire: Montredon, Riotort, Sainte-Marie-de-Chazes, Soligac-sur-Loire. Loire: Moind. Loiret: Beaugency Saint-Étienne. Puy-de-Dôme: Bourg-Lastic (ground plan in De Lasteyrie, p. 439), Larout, Lezoux, Royat.

11. St. Gabriel, Front

12. St. Gabriel, Interior, looking East

crossing crowned by a dome. The springing of the barrel vault is emphasized by a cornice. The most spacious church, if the original plan had been completed, would have been the Cathedral of St. Étienne at Toulouse.

There are several dispersed examples of such barrel-vaulted aulic churches in Central France. In the east they are inspired by Provençal models, in the west by Aquitanian.[1]

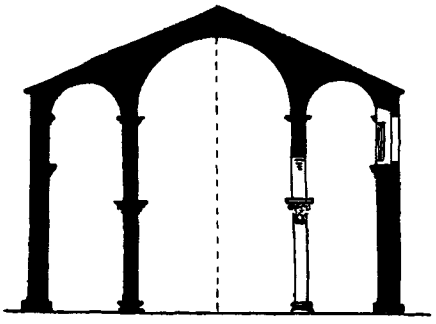
However much the barrel-vaulted churches are reminiscent of antique buildings, all efforts to discover an uninterrupted development of this type are in vain. The vaulting of Notre-Dame-des-Doms cannot be regarded as synchronizing with the date of consecration (1069). The earliest established date is that of the church of Layrac. The barrel vault is found in connection with other types of churches at an earlier date, *e.g.* St. Philibert at Tournus.[2] But there is none what soever of barrel-vaulted single-aisled edifices built between the fall of the Roman Empire and the 11th century. The endeavour to revive antique forms is a sign of the revival of the joyous southern spirit during the most flourishing period of the Middle Ages. The best proof of the revival of the antique may be found in the antique anthropocentric numeral proportions of the cross-section,[3] especially in the Provençal churches. "In Maguelone and Saintes-Maries the height to the springing of the vault equals the width of the church. In St. Etienne the height of the springing of the vault equals half the width, the height of the apex equals the whole width, *i.e.*, the classic proportions of the Pantheon in Rome, but employed here in a longitudinal edifice. In the church at Orange the cross-section shows that an equilateral triangle is formed by drawing lines from the apex of the transverse rib in the chief vault to the end points of the base lines in the niches."[4]

IV.

THE "HALL" CHURCH[5]

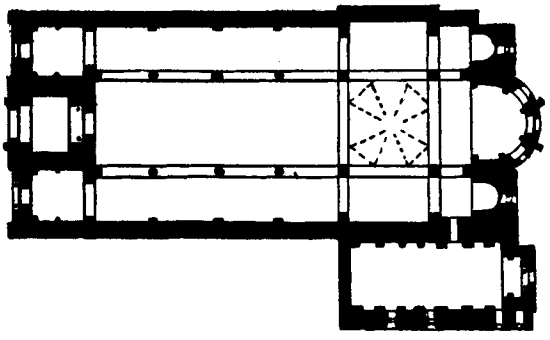
Beyond the domed and the barrel-vaulted churches a third type was evolved in the south and west of France which, in its purest form, differs considerably from the predominating basilican type, namely the "hall" church.

Roman architects in Gaul as well as Early Christian architects in Syria and Armenia[6] had already evolved buildings with several barrel-vaulted compartments connected with each other. Mediæval barrel-vaulted halls (crypts with several aisles all of the same height, owing to their being immediately under the floor of the church proper) are known to have existed at an even earlier date than the aulic churches. The hall church does not, necessarily, differ in the ground plan from the basilica. But the different effects of the basilica and the hall church are all the greater the more spacious and lofty the latter is. The Cathedral of St. Pierre at Poitiers (Pl. 49) is the ideal hall church. It is the finest result of a long



13. Lyons, St. Martin d'Ainay, Cross-section

development. But the beginning is also conspicuous for some beautifully proportioned edifices, particularly churches with traits of classical tradition, such as St. Martin d'Ainay at Lyons (Figs. 13, 14), with spacious columned aisles of nearly equal height. Another example is St. Savin-sur-Gartempe (Fig. 16, Pl. 25). The top of



14. Lyons, St. Martin d'Ainay, Ground Plan

St. Martin d'Ainay differs very much in appearance from that of the super-lofty hall churches with slightly higher nave as found in Provence. Whereas in the churches of Lyons airy spaciousness is the dominating note, the aisles in those of Provence are often merely passages, and, consequently, roofed with demi-barrel vaults. The difference between the hall church and the basilica is so small that, in some of the former, parts of the nave are provided with windows. St. Trophîme at Arles and St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux are basilicas by virtue of their clerestories; the Cathedral at Valence, the cross-section of which is akin to that of the former, is a hall church because it is without a clerestory. French

[1] A plan of the church at Ameugny (Saône-et-Loire) with small transept and groined vault over the crossing in De Lasteyrie, p. 431.

[2] Further examples are mentioned by De Lasteyrie, p. 248 and Enlart, Manuel, p. 289.

[3] See Baum, "Baukunst und dekorative Plastik der Frührenaissance in Italien," 2nd ed. 1926, Introduction.

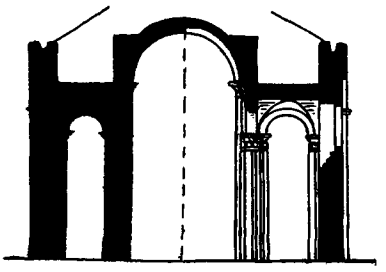
[4] See Dehio and v. Bezold p. 328 *et seq.*

[5] As both the aulic and basilican churches are quite distinct from the one-storey church, and as the latter term is misleading, the translator has adopted the term "hall" church (German, Hallenkirche) for the particular type dealt with in this section. Bristol Cathedral is designed on the same principle.

[6] See Strzygowski, "Ursprung," pp. 59, 76.

scholars are right in not laying too much stress on the structural difference of these edifices.

The Aquitanian hall churches are on a different plan. The nave of these churches is usually slightly higher than the aisles. None of the oldest churches of the late 11th and of the beginning of the 12th centuries attains to the majesty of St. Savin. Most of them, as, for instance, Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers (Fig. 15), convey the impression of lowness and narrowness. The fact that Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers could be transformed from a three-aisled hall church into a single-aisled aulic church without changing the outer walls shows how modest the dimensions were. Nevertheless, Poitiers is the city in which the first hall church was erected which was both spacious and brilliantly lighted, namely, St. Pierre.[1]



15. Poitiers, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Ground Plan

In 954 a strikingly airy hall church with a western tower (Pl. 71) was added to a Carolingian choir (Pl. 73) in St. Martin d'Ainay at Lyons (Figs. 13, 14), where antique shafts were employed. The strong granite columns are able to take the thrust of the wide and lofty arcades. During the reconstruction at the beginning of the 12th century, the outer wall was pierced and further side-aisles added, and the choir decorated with the beautiful incrustations (Pl. 178), but, in the main, great changes were not made.

There were no imitations of this church. Hall churches are not often met with in South-Eastern France. A transition from the aulic to the hall church was created by deepening the wall niches and piercing the intervening walls, as, for instance, at Avignon, Cavaillon, Nîmes, Orange, and outside Provence at Bénévent (Dehio and v. Bezold, Pl. 159). We have preferred to include such churches among the aulic churches because their interior effect is similar to that of the latter.[1] Nor does it seem probable that the three-aisled churches in Provence were developed from this aulic type by emancipating the side-aisles from the nave, but, together with a marked increase in height, the width of the aisles diminishes proportionately in the basilicas and hall churches of Provence. However, the wide span of the arcades counteracts this effect by merging the aisles with the nave, even where real aisles are concerned, and not merely chapels connected by apertures.

As far as the choir is concerned, the simple type, with transept and three eastern apses, is preferred sometimes with a tower over the crossing. This applies both to basilicas and hall churches (Lyons, St. Martin-d'Ainay, Pl. 73, Cruas, Pl. 74, St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Pl. 72, St. Guilhem-le-Désert, Pl. 188). Only Valence Cathedral has an ambulatory with radiating chapels.

In Aquitaine, in contradistinction to Provence, the columns are ranged close together, and for this reason the aisles appear to be separated from the main body of the church and present the appearance of narrow forsaken passages. Whereas the basilica dominates in Provence, in the south-west the hall church holds sway. A complete barrel vaulting of all three aisles is by no means common. Complete barrel vaulting is met with at Civray, Partenay, and St. Maurice-de-Gençay. At Châteauponsac, Partenay-le-Vieux and Preuilly the side-aisles have demi-barrel vaults. The aisles are often cross-vaulted. In the church of St. Savin the square compartments are not separated by transverses, whereas in later examples, such as Moirax, Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers, the compartments are separated by them. The narrowness of the aisles made it incumbent on the architect to place the columns very near to each other. The nave vault is proportionately higher than those of the aisles, in so far as its width exceeds theirs, immaterial of the vaulting being circular or pointed.

The oldest dated building, St. Savin (*circa* 1080) (Fig. 16) has slender cylindrical columns as supports; later on, columns on the square plan, with embedded columns, were introduced. The impost between the vertical wall and the vaulting is stressed by a cornice. The eastern part, both in Aquitaine and in Provence, consists mostly of transepts with towers over the

[1] List of hall churches (after Dehio and v. Bezold, p. 359 *et seq.* Enlart, Manuel, p. 364). S.-E. France. Alpes-Maritimes: Saint-Honorat-des-Lérins, Sainte-Trinité. Ardèche: Mazan. Bouches-du-Rhône: Marseille Cathedral, Silvacane (Cistercian). Côte-d'or: Fontenay (Cistercian). Drôme: Valence Cathedral. Hautes-Alpes: Embrun Cathedral. Lozère: Le-Monastier. Rhône: Lyons, Saint-Irenée, Lyons, Saint-Martin-d'Ainay (Pls. 71, 73). Saône-et-Loire: Bois-Sainte-Marie, Châteauneuf. Var: Le-Thoronet (Cistercian). Vaucluse: Apt Cathedral, Senanque (Cistercian). S.-W. France. Ariège: Mercus, Sabart. Aude: Alet, Carcassonne, Saint-Nazaire. Frontfroide. Aveyron: Saint-Dalmazi. Cantal: Les-Anglards-de-Salers. Charente: Aubeterre-sur-Dronne, Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, Lesterps, Saint-Amand-de-Boixe. Charente-Inférieure: Aulnay (Pls. 54, 60), Sainte-Sainte-Marie-des-Dames (Pl. 54), Saintes Saint-Eutrope, Surgères (Pl. 62). Corrèze: Beaulieu-sur-Ménoire, Brives, Obazine, Tulle, Uzerche. Deux-Sèvres: Airvault (Pl. 30), Champdeniers, Javarzay, Melle (Pl. 28), Parthenay, Parthenay-le-Vieux, Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes (Pl. 52), Verines-sous-Celles. Dordogne: Bussière-Badil (Pl. 26), Cadouin. Gers: Flaran. Gironde: Bordeaux, Sainte-Croix (Pl. 53), Vertheuil. Haute-Vienne: Châteauponsac, Le-Dorat, Saint-Junien. Hérault: Espondeilhan, Quarante. Indre-et-Loire: Preuilly-sur-Claise (Pl. 27). Lot: Bonneviolle, Carennac. Lot-et-Garonne: Le-Mas-d'Agenais, Moirax, Monsempron. Maine-et-Loire: Cunault (Pl. 36), Beaulieu-les-Loches. Mayenne: La Cassine. Pyrenées-Orientales: Elne, Perpignan, Saint-Jean, Saint-Martin-du-Canigou. Tarn-et-Garonne: Auvillar, Varen. Vendée: Benet, La-Chaize-Giraud, Maillezais (Pl. 63), Les-Moutiers-les-Maurfaits, Nieul-sur-l'Autize, Pouzauges, Saint-Hilaire-de-Lages, Vouvant (Pl. 43). Vienne: Chauvigny (Pl. 42), Civray (Pl. 51), Jazeneuil, Lusignan, Nouaillé, Poitiers, Montierneuf, Poitiers, Notre-Dame-la-Grande (Pl. 50), Poitiers, Sainte-Radegonde (originally), Poitiers, Saint-Pierre (Pl. 49), Saint-Maurice-de-Gençay (Pl. 35), Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Pls. 25, 72), Villesalem. Central France. Allier: Bourbon-l'Archambault, Châtel-Montagne, Colombier, Fleuriel, Huriel, Névis, Souvigny (reconstruction), Ygrande. Cher: Saint Amand, La-Celle-Bruère (Pl. 44), Châteaumeillant, Saint-Desiré. Creuse: Chambon-sur-Voueize, La-Souterraine (cross-vaulting). Haute-Loire: Chamalières, Chanteuges, Polignac. Loire-et-Cher: Aigues-Vives. Loire: Chaudieu, Pommiers, Saint-Rambert. Nièvre: La-Marche, Mars-sur-Allier, Saint-Réverien. Puy-de-Dôme: Plauzat. Yonne: Druyes.

[1] Dehio and v. Bezold (I, p. 329), on the other hand, deduce their classification from the ground plan.

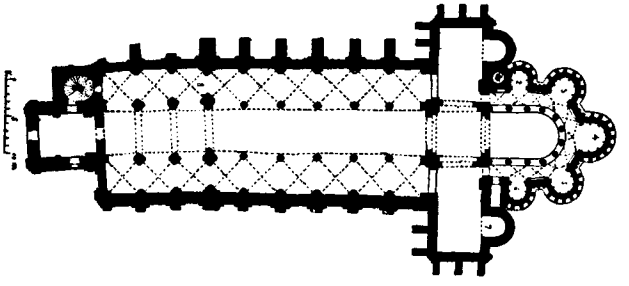
crossing and three eastern apses. Sometimes the transept is greatly reduced in size, but there are many examples of choir ambulatories with radiating chapels. Both plans are met with in the same provinces and dating from the same period. The light supplied by the choir windows and the side-aisles (often walled in) is insufficient. The effect on the interior is dark, mysterious and oppressive owing to the close spacing of the columns. But this is not necessarily a corollary to the plan of the hall church. The spacious interior of St. Savin, with its slender columns and the painted barrel vault of the nave, reminds one of the vaulted colonnades of antiquity. The fact that the Aquitanians did not copy this spacious and oldest hall church must be explained by the Celtic predilection for worshipping in gloomy and mysterious churches which were immeasurable to the eye. It was only by the erection of St. Pierre at Poitiers (commenced 1166) that this gloomy narrowness was banished by cross-vaulting over square compartments. Thus was created an enormous hall church in which both the nave and aisles are of the same height and width, and which receives a peculiar note of harmony — often lacking in Gothic buildings of this type — by slightly converging the outer walls towards the choir end. The strikingly happy proportions of this church, which terminates in the east with three shallow niches recessing into a flat choir wall (Pl. 49, Fig. 17), vest it with a rhythm all its own and seldom equalled in the Middle Ages.[1]

V.
THE EXTERIORS OF SOUTHERN FRENCH CHURCHES

The exteriors of southern French churches are distinguished by severely restrained walls practically devoid of architectural decoration and sparsely pierced by windows. Whenever possible, stone is exclusively employed for roofs (Pl. 72) and towers (Pls. 47, 48). The Aquitanian conception of the ideally beautiful was no doubt attained on the exterior of St. Étienne at Périgueux (Pls. 17, 18); massive cubes on which rested the cylindrical casing of the dome with a flat pavilion roof; the walls of the church with strong pilasters at the corners, and thin strips of pilasters in between and joined by wall arcading under the eaves, and small round-headed arch-windows. Churches with transepts are crowned by a cylindrically cased dome over the crossing, when the choir is mostly semicircular with radiating chapels (Souillac, Pl. 21; Angoulême, Pl. 10, a richer specimen, though changed during restoration). It is impossible to decide to what extent the domes of St. Front (Pl. 16) were intended to project above the roof; but certainly not in the manner as restored in the 19th century.

The exteriors of Aquitanian vaulted aulic churches and vaulted hall churches are nearly identical, and it is only possible to discover from the dimensions whether the edifice is single or three-aisled. The longitudinal walls of the nave are sometimes slightly higher than the roofs of the aisles, which are placed pentwise against them. As a rule, the choir and nave are separated by transepts, the fronts of which are often highly ornate, and over the crossing by towers of various shapes, such as a cube, cone, cylinder or pyramid (Retaud, Pl. 34, St. Maurice, Pl. 35, Chavigny, Pl. 42, Vouvant, Pl. 43, Courcôme, Pl. 45, Montmoreau, Pl. 46, Trois-Palis, Pl. 47, Poitiers, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Pl. 48.) Each arm of the transept has usually an eastern apse (St. Maurice, Pl. 35).

The choirs of the smaller churches usually have no radiating chapels (Pl. 31 *et seq.*); but the large churches



16. Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, Ground Plan

have them — for instance, the Cathedral of Agen (Pl. 39), Chauvigny (Pl. 42), St. Savin (Pl. 72, Fig. 16) — even if the choir ambulatory is lacking. Agen has the monumental type of choir, though nearly unadorned: a sort of attic surmounts the enormous buttress-like pilasters. As a rule, this attic-like upper section is bound together with the lower wall design by architectural members. The supports run up to the upper cornice, which rests on corbels. A second, more attenuated, cornice is inserted over the windows. The upper part of the wall is ornamented by flat arched corbels (Pls. 10, 19, 31, *et seq.*). Selles-sur-Cher (Pl. 37) and St. Paul at Dax are exceptional in so far as their upper friezes do not consist of wall arcading, but of ornamental figures of the Ionic order. There are only a few examples of churches whose nave walls have their windows surrounded by wall arcades merging into thin pilasters, as, for instance, on Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers (Pl. 50), where the design is strikingly ornate. In many cases the vertical members, which take the thrust of the vault and serve to strengthen the wall, go up to the roof-line without being connected by arches (Pls. 41, 43, 46).

In Provence and neighbouring regions ornament is almost completely dispensed with except on the front. Very often barrel-vaulted aulic churches appear quite plain from the sides, as, for instance, St. Gabriel, near Tarascon (Fig. 9). As a rule, groined walls over the compartments in front of the choir present the appearance of a drum and lantern on the outside,

[1] The change in the spirit of the age interpreted by this edifice may be traced in contemporary writings, cf. Appel, "Bernart von Ventadorn," 1915, p. LXI.

and, consequently, make for a very effective exterior (cf. Avignon, Pl. 112). However, churches with transepts are seldom provided with towers over the crossing (Lyons, St. Martin-d'Ainay, Pl. 73, Cruas, Pl. 74). As a rule, three apses terminate the plainly designed eastern wall of the transept, which is not raised in the middle (St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, Pl. 72). As has already been stated, the south end of the choir is sometimes cased polygonally (Montmajour, Pl. 7, Vaison St. Quinin, Fig. 10).

Frontal towers are rare in Aquitaine, and usually do not form an integral part of the architectural design. The most celebrated example is St. Front at Périgueux (Pl. 16) also Ste. Radegonde and St. Porchaire at Poitiers and St. Savin. They occur more frequently in the south-east, as at St. Martin-d'Ainay at Lyons (Pl. 71), Cruas (Pl. 74). The Cathedral of Le-Puy (Pl. 101) and Michel-d'Aiguilhe, a copy of the former, have massive towers behind the choir. In Angoulême it was planned to provide the transept with towers flanking the dome. In Provence the towers are seldom an integral part of the edifice. Their position differs, and campanili standing apart from the building are met with (Puissalicon, Pl. 75). Small churches are often only provided with an open bell-cage over the western gable (Ydes, Pl. 82). A particular type of church in the south is represented by the fortress-like aulic churches [1] with massive walls strengthened by pilasters and provided with corbelled-out battlements (Agde, Pl. 76, Les-Saintes-Maries, Pl. 77, and Royat). Mention should also be made here of the chapel building of Cruas Castle (Pl. 184), though having several stories over the chapel proper. In Provence there is still a great number of such fortified churches which were erected during a period of unrest and war. Their models were in Syria — for instance, at Safita. Beyond this special type Provence for more than a century cultivated a precision as well as a certain grace and harmony of proportion which seem inspired by the antique spirit, and we are justified in speaking of a revival of classic forms in the 12th and 13th centuries in these regions. St. Croix at Montmajour (Pl. 7), the Cathedral portals at Aix, Avignon and Carpentras, the fronts of St. Gabriel (Fig. 11), Ste. Marthe at Tarascon, St. Restitut, St. Ruf near Avignon, the apses of the cathedrals of Cavaillon and Vaison, of St. Quinin at Vaison (Fig. 10), Ste. Marie-du-Lac at Le-Thor and St. Jean-le-Moustier at Arles, with their several cornices, fluted pilasters and Corinthian columns and figured friezes bear witness to this development which commenced in 1100 and only ended after 1250. The stimulation to Provencal architecture by classic models is best seen on the fronts and portals of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, St. Gilles and St. Trophîme at Arles. The severest in design is St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, which, unhappily, was never completed. This edifice has attained to a perfection of architectural form far superior to that of the façade of San Miniato. In order to conceive what the original plan was it is necessary to remember Alberti's façade of San Francesco in Rimini. [1] Probably a similar façade was the model for the lower part of St. Paul-de-Varax (Pl. 81). There is less unity of style in St. Gilles, though it is more elaborate. The original plan was probably to have only one middle portal, and it was built in 1142. The side portals (Pls. 80, 221 *et seq.*) were added later and do not quite harmonise with the rest of the building. There are wide wall spaces between the portals, and, in front of each, three columns standing away from the building and supporting the entablature with friezes and cornices. Western French triple-porched fronts were, it is true, built at an earlier date, but too different in character from St. Gilles to have had any noteworthy influence. One has no knowledge of similar antique-porched fronts which might have served as models. The simple front of St. Trophîme at Arles (Pls. 79, 200) completed 1180, with only one arch, was, like the former, suggested by antique examples. But there is no model extant for the whole of the composition. The portal in Romans (Pl. 225), of which only a fragment remains, was planned along similar lines between 1133 and 1150.

In the Aquitanian edifices, especially in the hall churches, there are, as has been shown, very few traces of antique influence in the interior. But all the more value was attached to fostering the Roman tradition in the front. This is emphasized by the fact that there is in most cases a mounted statue of the Emperor Constantine [2] among the numerous figures on these façades. But the influence of antique architectural forms cannot be denied either.

The composition of the front of Aquitanian churches is independent of the interior, and, whether it be a domed or aulic or a hall church, the façade remains an independent unit. Various distinct types have been evolved that arose in the same regions and at the same time. It has not been possible hitherto to trace a dependable chronological line of development. [3] One common feature of all the façades is the triple porch in the lower part in imitation of both form and proportions of the antique tripartite triumphal arches. But only the middle porch leads to the interior. The side porches are narrower and lower and blind. There is no doubt that the one-storeyed front of Chalais (Pl. 61) represents the most chaste of this type of façade. The wall is partitioned off into three divisions with porch and two niches.

[1] See Rey, "Les vieilles églises fortifiées du Midi de la France," 1925.

[1] See Baum's "Baukunst und dekorative Plastik der Frührenaissance in Italien," 1926, Pl. 25.

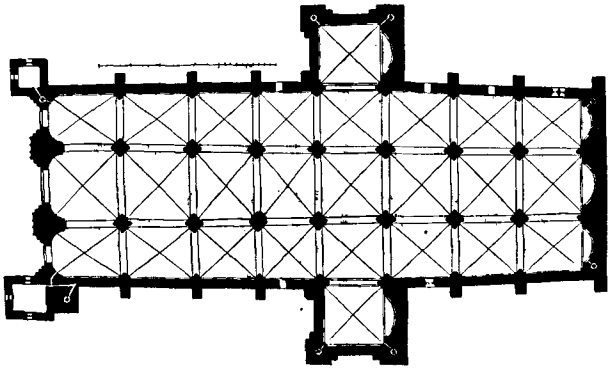
[2] See Mâle, "L'art religieux du 12e siècle en France," 1922, p. 245 *et seq.* Statues of Constantine are preserved at Châteauneuf-sur-Charente, Surgères (Pl. 62), Parthenay-le-Vieux (Pl. 66), Melle, S. Hilaire, and were once in Airvault, Aulnay, Bordeaux, St. Croix, Déols, Saintes. In reference to the origin of the motifs cf. Porter, op. cit., p. 188 *et seq.*

[3] See Deshoulières, "Les façades des églises romanes charentaises, congrès archéol. d'Angoulême," 1912, Christ: "Die romanischen Kirchenfassaden des Angoumois," 1914.

The measurements of the whole front are very well proportioned. A gently sloping pediment surmounts the main wall and is about half its height; owing to its simple and clear proportions the edifice may be said to resemble a work of the Renaissance.

Some of the two-storeyed tripartite façades emphasize the horizontal, as, for instance, Civray (Pl. 51), which has an exceptionally narrow middle section. The arches of the lower storey are repeated in the upper. A similar church is that of St. Mary's at Saintes (Pl. 54) with the vertical members running up to the pediment. St. Jouin-de-Marnes (Pl. 52), with a dominating central window and smaller ones in the flanking niches, is akin in type. The western front of St. Pierre at Aulnay (Pl. 54) presents a variation of this design. [1]

Other two-storey façades replace the three windows in the upper storey by wall arcades, with a small window



17. Poitiers, St. Pierre, Ground Plan

in the middle arcade, *e.g.* Échebrune (Pl. 56), Échillais (Pl. 57) and Ruffec with strongly emphasized vertical members (Pl. 55). [2] The choir façade of St. Pierre at Poitiers (Pl. 49, Fig. 17) also belongs to this type.

A number of other churches have three-storeyed façades with two rows of wall arcades and one central window either in the middle (Petit-Palais, Gensac, Pl. 59) or upper storey, or passing from the middle to the upper story (Poitiers, Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Pl. 50). [3] In these churches either the vertical or horizontal line predominates. It is from this type that the five-arched façade of Angoulême Cathedral (Pl. 58) was evolved by multiplying the architectural members. The upper storey of Angoulême Cathedral was wrongly restored. This also applies to the façade of Ste. Croix at Bordeaux (Pl. 53).

The natural termination of these façades is a gently sloping pediment. In Poitou the angle pillars develop into powerful compounds crowned by pierced turrets (Pls. 50, 52). The façade at Écoyeux is suggestive of a fortress and is provided with strong angle towers and battlement.

The transept façade of St. Pierre at Aulnay (Pl. 60) is particularly effective: a single portal, a window niche in the upper storey flanked by small blind niches, and the whole powerfully set in embedded shafts connected by a wall rib. The central portion of the western front of the church at Loupiac is similar, but flanked by narrow wall niches binding both storeys together.

There is always a profusion of ornament, but the classic influence which is readily recognised in the architecture is less pronounced in ornament. The classic lucidity becomes soft and blurred. It is easy to recognise an echo of Celtic La-Tène forms in some details, as, for instance, on the façade of Notre-Dame-La-Grande at Poitiers. They also lingered on in Irish architecture towards the end of the Middle Ages.

VI.

BARREL-VAULTED HALL CHURCHES WITH GALLERIES [1]

If the aisles are lower than the nave, the cross-sections of the hall church and the basilica are identical, but the walls of the former are not pierced above the aisles, so that this upper portion of the nave walls is dark when the difference between the height of the aisles is very considerable.

Auvergne vested this type of hall church with a new feature by introducing galleries over the low side-aisles. These galleries served originally as a sort of abutment to take the thrust of the nave barrel vault, opening into the nave, in the shape of arcades (Pls. 92, 95). This type of edifice (the remarkable features of which will be dealt with later) occurs in such a clearly defined region that one is justified in speaking of an Auvergnate type. St. Étienne at Nevers may be regarded as an early example of this plan. Beyond the border of Auvergne there are only four such churches, closely akin to one another: St. Martial at Limoges, St. Sernin at Toulouse, Ste. Foy at Conques and San Jago de Compostela. They differ, however, considerably from the Auvergnate churches.

St. Étienne at Nevers (1068—1097) (Pls. 89, 90, 94, 107, Fig. 18) is, perhaps, the earliest of these buildings. The interior effect is almost the same as that of the Auvergnate churches, although St. Étienne has little nave windows over the galleries, and is thus the only building of this type among these vaulted churches. For the rest, the barrel vault of the nave is divided off into sections by transverse ribs resting on vaulting-shafts. The impost is lacking. The choir opens into a columned,

[1] According to Hans Christ the following churches belong to the same type as St. Jouin-de-Marnes: Parthenay-le-Vieux, Nieul-sur-l'Autize, Melle, St. Hilaire, Benet. Blind flanking niches are to be found in Saintes Ste. Eutrope, St. Amand-de-Bois, Châteauneuf, Villesalem, Montmoreau, Cornue-Royale.

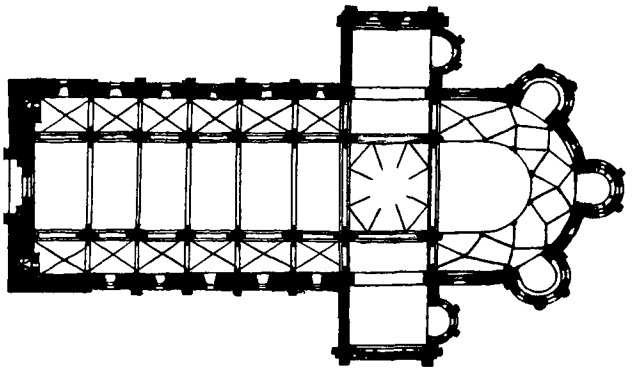
[2] Other façades of this type: Bassac, La Couronne, Fontaine-Ozillac, Avy-en-Pons, Marignac, Chadenac, Biron, Talmont.

[3] Other examples: Bourg-Charente, Cognac, St. Sigismond-de-Clermont, St. Brice, Blassac, Pérignac, Rioux-Martin.

[1] Bibliography: "Chardon du Ranquet, Cours d'art roman-auvergnat professé à l'université de Clermont-Ferrand," 1898/99. Brutails, "Note sur l'antériorité et l'influence de l'école romane auvergnate," Bull. archéol. 1899, p. 414 f. Chalvet de Rochemonteix, "Les églises romanes de la Haute-Auvergne," 1912.

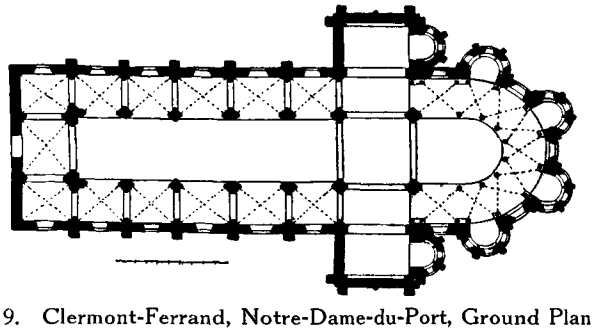
arched ambulatory with three chapels. The crossing is crowned by a groined vault upon which a low tower is superimposed. Two towers flank the façade, which is on the Burgundian plan.

Auvergnate churches differ externally from the plan of St. Étienne at Nevers by a more developed transept. Barrel vaults or half-barrel vaults on each side serve as abutments to the vault over the crossing (Pl. 93). Thus



18. Nevers, St. Etienne, Ground Plan

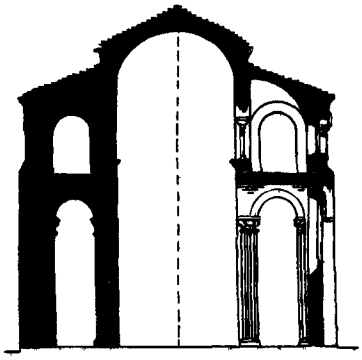
the octagonal tower over the crossing is supported by mighty structures spanning the nave and projecting above the outer transept arms.[1] The choir has a crypt and ambulatory separated from the former by columns with figured capitals. All the choirs have radiating chapels, except that of St. Saturin. In addition to these,



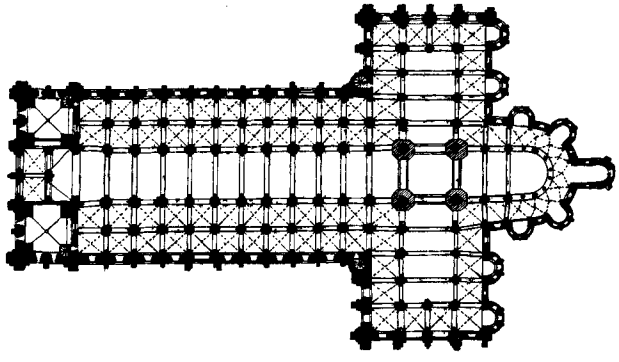
19. Clermont-Ferrand, Notre-Dame-du-Port, Ground Plan

each of the eastern walls of the transepts opens into an apse. The combination of all these members vests the outer part with an uncommonly rich and effective appearance (Pls. 83, 85, 86). The interior of the nave, whose barrel vaulting is without transverse ribs, springs immediately from the arches of the triforium without resting on a string-course (Pl. 92, Fig. 20). The nave has low cross-vaulted aisles surmounted by a gallery with half-barrel vaults. The nave arcades in St. Nectaire and Chauriat are supported by cylindrical columns, in Notre-Dame-du-Port by square ones with half columns. At Issoire and Orcival vaulting shafts in the nave are sometimes met with, in which case they rise up to the springing of the barrel vault without supporting transverse ribs.

Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand and St. Paul at Issoire have each an imposing western tower (Pls. 83, 85, Fig. 19). St. Nectaire has twin western towers. It is impossible to ascertain exact dates as to when they were erected. The columned plan of St. Nectaire seems to be the oldest, but the style of the figured capitals of these columns (Pl. 256) does not allow of dating the edifice earlier than the related sculptural work at Clermont-Ferrand, Issoire (Pl. 256) and Mozat.[1] It is possible that the churches of St. Nectaire, Chauriat and Notre-Dame-du-Port were already commenced towards the end of the 11th century, whereas Issoire and St. Saturnin were completed in the middle of the 12th century. The date when Orcival



20. Clermont-Ferrand, Notre-Dame-du-Port, Cross-section



21. Toulouse, St. Sernin, Ground Plan

was renovated is known to be 1168. Riom[2] and the church of St. Julien at Brioude (only vaulted in 1259) are of a later date.

The unity of style as represented in the barrel-vaulted hall church with triforia is still more conspicuous beyond the borders of Auvergne. This system has been developed more logically by employing vaulting shafts, with transverse ribs in the nave, as had already been developed in St. Étienne at Nevers. Examples are: St. Martial

[1] The most important examples of the Auvergnate school are St. Nectaire (Pl. 256), Chauriat (Pl. 88), Notre-Dame-du-Port at Clermont-Ferrand (Pls. 83, 84, 92, 93, 258), Saint-Paul at Issoire (Pls. 85, 86, 256), Orcival (Pls. 85, 257), Ennezat Cournon, St. Saturnin (Pl. 87), St. Amable at Riom, St. Julien at Brioude (with cross-vaulting of a later date).

[1] See Porter, "Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads," 1923 S. 237, Pls. 1186—1227.

[2] See Gauchery, "Riom, Congrès archéol. de Moulins," 1913.

at Limoges, commenced after 1063, consecrated[1] 1095, St. Sernin at Toulouse (the incomplete choir of which was consecrated in 1096) (Pls. 97, 98 before the restoration, 99, Fig. 21), Ste. Foy at Conques (Pls. 95, 96) and San Iago de Compostela. The exterior of these churches has not developed the raised structure over the transepts upon which the tower stands, a feature so characteristic in Auvergnate churches. Instead of this, St. Sernin, Toulouse, has a spacious transept, and over the crossing a mighty tapering tower consisting of octagonal storeys. Unsuccessful attempts have frequently been made to copy this tower. The tower of Conques, for instance, is less elaborate. St. Sernin is a five-aisled church.

VII.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASILICA TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 11TH CENTURY.

No type of church offers such possibilities of development as does the three or five-aisled cruciform basilica with apse in the choir, transept and western narthex. The nave of these churches is higher than the aisles and has a clerestory. This type is the most suitable for public worship and is the typical form of occidental churches.

Architecture in Gaul was decisively influenced by the conversion of Clovis to the Roman faith, which resulted in the suppression of Arian and other Oriental influences, and Roman inspiration continued to be of the greatest importance for ecclesiastical architecture during the centuries in which Gaul was converted to Christianity. It is, above all, the task of the history of Carolingian and early mediæval architecture to deal with the question as to how the Occident developed the basilica, whose plan it inherited from Rome.

In Rome herself the original plan remained unchanged for nearly a thousand years. But the markedly Romanised southern part of Gaul did not readily adopt this type. At any rate, among all the many churches dating from the first ten centuries[2] after Christ that have been preserved in Provence and Aquitaine, only one columned basilica can be traced, *i.e.*, St. Pierre at Vienne. "La restitution de cette église nous donne tout à fait le programme d'une basilique chrétienne au 6e siècle, qu'on retrouve si bien aux basiliques de Ravenne et de Rome."[3] It is possible that many a basilica dating from the first millenium was destroyed in the south. Nevertheless, we should remember that those early churches which have been preserved in Provence and Languedoc are either centrally planned or single-aisled (apart from the cryptst which developed along their own lines). Even after the 12th century, as discussed above, the basilican plan was rare in southern Gaul. When present, it holds a position of its own owing to its strong resemblance to the hall church. The Visigothic element in the population was not strong enough to give the Provençals and Aquitanians the same impetus as did the Langobards to the Romanised Celts in the Valley of the Po, or as did the Burgundians to the people of the middle Rhône Valley, or the Franks and Normans to northern France. There can be no doubt that the influx of Teutonic blood imbued the Romanized Celts with that activity of spirit which is still to-day one of the peculiarities of both the Lombards and the northern French. It enables these peoples to solve problems which others neglect. And, though centuries passed in upper Italy as well as in Burgundy and north-western France till this admixture of blood became a creative factor, yet the effect on the development of architecture was not unimportant. The south of France remained comparatively lethargic and adhered to its Mediterranean sensualism combined with more or less classic instincts. Architecture in the north, however, developed more emphatically.

In the north a greater number of early edifices have been preserved than in the south, and they are of a more important character. In Treves, which was then not occupied by the Franks, the 4th century cathedral still exists. It is three-aisled on a square plan and has no apse. It has a flat ceiling resting on four columns. The great buildings of the 5th century — St. Martin at Tours (about 470) with many columns in the interior, Notre-Dame at Clermont-Ferrand, and, presumably, St. Remi at Reims — were probably all three-aisled basilicas. In the earliest times there were only Christian communities in the towns. But extensive building operations also started in the countryside with the conversion of Gaul. We have information about several great monasteries in the north of France. The crypt of St. Médard at Soissons, St. Peter's (founded 613) in the citadel at Metz, and the church at Jouarre, which is akin in plan, and was founded before 628, are still preserved from the Merovingian period. The latter is a three-aisled columned edifice without a transept. Opinions differ as to the original roofing. We have documentary evidence that the monastery church of St. Denis, which was built at the same time, was originally a cruciform basilica, as was also the first church at Jumièges.

Information about the Carolingian buildings as well as remains dating from this period are more abundant. The plans of these churches are very varied. The Monastery of Centula (St. Riquier, Dep. Somme), commenced 790,[1] was a three-aisled basilica with two transepts. The Richarius choir, with a semicircular apse, adjoined

[1] As to this edifice, which no longer exists, see De Lasteyrie, "L'abbaye de Saint-Martial à Limoges," 1901. In reference to the question as to how far the basilican plan of Saint Martin at Tours may be regarded as a model for Toulouse and Compostela see Dehio and v. Bezold, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 374.

[2] See De Lasteyrie, "L'architecture religieuse en France," 1912, particularly Chapters 4 and 6.

[3] See Formigé et Deshoulières, Vienne, "Congrès archéol. de Valence," 1923, particularly p. 82. De Lasteyrie's supposition that the sixth century building was provided with galleries cannot be maintained.

[1] See Effmann, "Centula", 1912. Effmann's reconstruction of the western part is hypothetical.

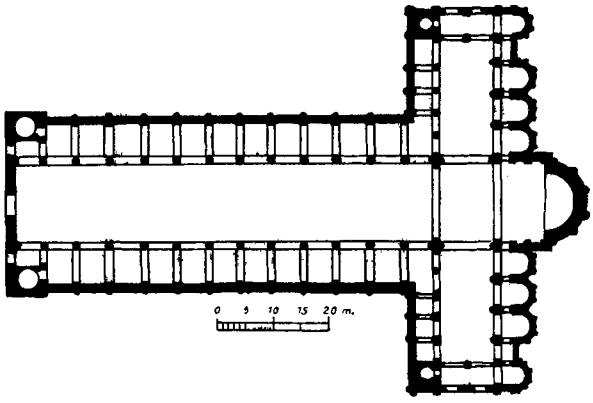
the eastern transept. St. Saviour's choir (which was raised) adjoined the western transept and was without an apse. It rested on a narthex. Both crossings were crowned by towers. There is no question here of a carefully planned edifice with an eastern and western choir like that of St. Gallen. In Fontanella[1] near Rouen, probably a three-aisled basilica, a gallery is mentioned. Deas (St. Philibert-de-Grandlieu, Dep. Loire-Inf.), commenced 819,[2] was a three-aisled cruciform columned basilica. According to Frankl, the choir was enlarged in 836 and the crypt was surrounded by an ambulatory with radiating chapels. This plan is the predecessor of the ambulatory in the church proper.[3]

The churches at Cravant, Indre-et-Loire, and St. Généroux (Deux-Sèvres), dating from the 10th century, have been preserved. St. Généroux is a single-aisled church with a transept separated from the nave by a wall pierced by three arches in the lower storey and an arcaded gallery in the upper part. It has three eastern apses as well as a bell-gable over the western front.[4] Cravant church is single-aisled and rectangular. The outer walls of these buildings are decorated with bricks arranged in mosaic-like patterns in accordance with Roman models which had already been copied in the early Middle Ages.

During the end of the 10th and the 11th centuries definite attempts were made to evolve the ground plan interior and disposition of the mediæval basilican type.

Both St. Remi at Rheims and Ste. Croix at Orléans still adhere to the ground plan of early Christian models. According to the investigations of Lefèvre and Pontalis,[5] Orléans Cathedral (reconstructed after 989) was a five-aisled, columned church, probably a flat-roofed basilica with a three-aisled transept with very long wings. Presumably, the nave had triforia and a tower over the crossing. The plan of the choir is unknown. St. Remi at Rheims (Pl. 130, Fig. 22, letterpress), commenced in 1005 on the lines of an old Carolingian ground plan consecrated 1049, is still extant in its more essential parts. The original building was a three-aisled, columned basilica the nave of which had a flat roof and galleries. The transept, with its long wings, was quite out of the common. It had a flat-roofed middle aisle and side aisles in the west, as well as in the narrow ends, and probably was provided with galleries. The choir-apse and the row of smaller ones adjoining it on both sides gave directly into the crossing and the transept. A similar building is the columned basilica at Montier-en-Der (960—992) with a flat ceiling and a gallery (Pl. 128), the choir of which was replaced by a Gothic building after 1200.

The Monastery Church at Cluny, the new building of which was erected by the abbot Majolus (948—994) and consecrated in 981, was a new departure in ground plans. It is true the interior of the church was reconstructed under the abbot Odilo (999—1049), but the ground plan remained unchanged. Owing to the strict building regulations of the Order,[1] the plan has exercised the greatest influence in Europe. It was that of a basilica called "maxima et arcuata" by Petrus Damiani in 1063, and, to judge by Norman copies, it was probably supported by square and not by cylindrical



22. Reims, St. Remi, Ground Plan (after Frankl)

columns and had a transept and a tower over the crossing as well as a presbytery with side chapels at the end of the side aisles which were withouth a crypt.[2] It is known that there was a large narthex probably flanked by towers. During mass the monastery choir sat in the chapel, the clergy who did not sing with the choir (minor chorus) sat in the eastern bay of the nave and were separated from the congregation by screens. This second Cluniac plan spread over Burgundy (La Charité, 1056, Paray-le-Monial), and had already reached Normandy at the beginning of the 11th century, where it was able to hold its own (Bernay, commenced 1013, Fig. 23, Jumièges, eastern parts and nave). At the end of the century it influenced the Hirsau school.

A further addition to the ground plan (which was to become particularly typical of French architecture), namely the ambulatory with radiating chapels, cannot be traced to its inception.[3] It is first met with — as mentioned

[1] See Schlosser, "Die abendländische Klosteranlage des frühen Mittelalters," 1889.

[2] See De Lasteyrie, op. cit. p. 146 *et seq.* and Frankl, "Die frühmittelalterliche und romanische Baukunst," 1926, p. 31.

[3] There are still a few remains of other edifices dating from the 8th and 9th centuries at Savennières and Gennes (Maine-et-Loire) as well as in the Cathedral and in St. Serge's at Angers, at Glanfeuil (9th century), Cormery near Tours, Gourgé between 889 and 942, St. Mesmes at Chinon, before 1025, Mont-Saint-Michel and Jumièges.

[4] See Congrès archéol., 1904. De Lasteyrie, p. 151, Frankl. p. 45.

[5] See Lefèvre-Pontalis, "La cathédrale romane d'Orléans," Bull. mon. 1904.

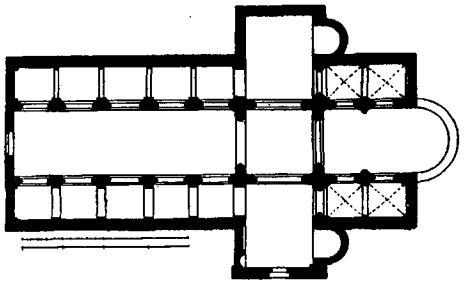
[1] See Mettler, "Die zweite Kirche in Cluny und die Kirchen in Hirsau, Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architectur, III," 1909, p. 274 *et seq.*, IV, 1910, p. 1 *et seq.*

[2] The lack of a crypt should by no means be ascribed to Burgundian architectural traditions: v. Lücken, "Die Anfänge der burgundischen Schule" n d., p. 15, deals with contemporary Burgundian crypts in Auxerre Cathedral, Auxerre, St. Germain, Nevers Cathedral, Mâcon Cathedral, Tournus St. Philibert, Anzy-le-Duc, Flavigny, Châtel-Censoir, Yseure, Avermes, Alluy, Avril-sur-Loire, Decise, Fléty, St. Parize-le-Châtel, St. Saulge. Even monastery churches influenced by Cluny have crypts: St. Bénigne, Dijon, Vézelay, Souvigny, St. Pierre-le-Moutier.

[3] See Gall, "Studien zur Geschichte des Chorumganges, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft, V," 1912, p. 134 *et seq.*

above — in the crypt of St. Philibert-de-Grandlieu. This church seems to have influenced St. Martin's at Tours (997—1015). Among the earliest plans with ambulatory are that of Chartres Cathedral, reconstructed in 1020, and that of the church at Vignory (Pl. 129), consecrated in 1052. We may realise how this plan was evolved by imagining that the continuation of the side aisles, as obtaining in the plan of the Majolus basilica, were carried round the choir apse and opened into it by means of arcades. The outer wall of the ambulatory is pierced by three or five radiating chapels. Transepts were not always favoured, and are lacking, for instance, in Chartres and Vignory.

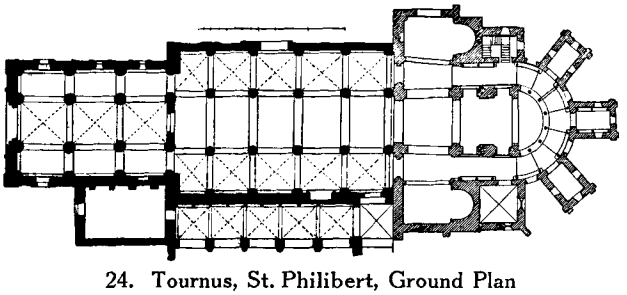
Simple and restained forms were favoured in the interior at the end of the 10th and the beginning of



23. Bernay, Ground Plan

the 11th centuries. The ancient Cathedral of Beauvais[1] was an extremely simple columned basilica with unadorned upper walls. Several Norman rural churches with square or round columns were similar: for instance, Pont-Audemer, Écrainville, Étretat. Ryes.[2] The architects did not venture to vault the wide naves of the Norman churches (Bernay, Fig. 23, Jumièges, Fécamp) or those of the churches of the Crown Domains and Champagne (Beauvais, the old Cathedral, St. Remi at Rheims, Vignory) or of Lorraine Montier-en-Der). Soon after, 1000 cross-vaults are met with in the side aisles, as, for instance, at Bernay and Chartres. In most of the churches the nave opens into the side aisles and the triforia (usually only ceiled with beams, see Pls. 128, 129, 130) by means of two rows of arches of the same height, of which the upper ones are divided. The columns are often square in plan and the earlier ones are without pilasters on the face. The walls are generally plain. If there are transepts, the crossing is usually not crowned with a groined vault, although there are, mostly, towers over the crossing. In Normandy the upper parts of the walls are always arcaded, even if the arcade does not open into the galleries, but into the roof. Sometimes there are merely blind arcades. Their development will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Burgundian architecture develops along its own lines.[1] This country is, by virtue of its position, the connecting link between southern and northern architecture. It shares with northern France the predilection for the basilican plan, and with southern France it favours vaulting, namely a barrel vault over the nave and cross-vaulting over the aisles. By the year 1000 there were also a number of edifices in Burgundy which did not greatly differ in their simplicity from the old Cathedral at Beauvais. They favour plain columns on the square plan, plain unadorned walls with open roofs or flat ceilings, *e.g.*, at Bourbon-Lancy (1030) and Ebreuil. Besides the square column, the cylindrical one is also employed as a support, mostly, however, in connection with barrel vaults: for instance, at Chapaize, Châtel-Censoir, and, above all, in St. Philibert at Tournus (Figs. 24, 25). According to the determinative investigations carried on by Gall,[2] this edifice had a complicated architectural development which shows how careful one should be in presenting theories about vanished edifices, such as the Majolus Church at Cluny. St. Philibert consists of three distinct parts. After a fire in 1007 or 1008 the present western section was commenced: a narrow three-aisled basilica with three compartments and with a longitudinal barrel vault rest-



24. Tournus, St. Philibert, Ground Plan

ing on high cylindrical columns and with semi-barrel vaults over the aisles. From the fourth compartment the edifice broadens out, and, at the same time, the western part is divided into an upper and lower church. The lower hall is provided with square cross-vaulted bays in the nave, whilst the aisles have transverse vaults. Although it had thus been proved that vaulting was possible, the builders did not at first venture to vault the new part of the edifice, which was consecrated in 1019. The bays of the aisles were only cross-vaulted some years later, whereas the nave is provided with

[1] See Congrès archéol. Beauvais, 1905, p. 3 *et seq.*

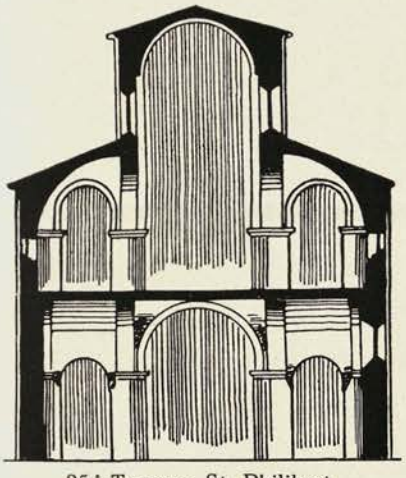
[2] Important works on northern French churches are for Normandy: Ruprich-Robert, "L'architecture normande aux 11e et 12e siècles," 1884—1889; Pinder, "Einleitende Voruntersuchungen zur Rhythmik romanischer Innenräume in der Normandie;" Picardie: Enlart, "Monuments religieux de l'architecture romane et de transition dans les anciens diocèses d'Amiens et de Boulogne," 1895; Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Les influences normandes au 11e et au 12e siècle dans le nord de la France," Bull. mon 1906, p. 3 *et seq.*; Soissonais: Lefèvre-Pontalis; "L'architecture religieuse des 11e et 12e siècles dans l'ancien diocèse de Soissons," 1894—1898; districts bordering on Burgundy: Philippe, "L'architecture religieuse au 11e et au 12e siècle dans l'ancien diocèse d'Auxerre," Bull. mon. 1904, p. 43 *et seq.*

[1] See Philippe, op. cit. and v. Lücken, "Die Anfänge der burgundischen Schule," n. d. with illustrations of all the important buildings.

[2] See Gall, "Die Abteikirche St. Philibert in Tournus," Cicerone 1912, p. 624 *et seq.*

abutment arches with transverse vaults in between (Pl. 104). The crypt was only built in 1100, and the transept as well as the choir, with ambulatory and rectangular chapels, were erected in 1120.

Even in the Burgundian realm of art St. Philibert is an exception, but other vaulted basilicas are frequently met with. Later on the simpler columns are replaced by composite pillars and the barrel vault is partly replaced by cross-vaults between transverse ribs. In most cases the upper walls remain unadorned. The exteriors of the Early Romanesque Burgundian basilicas were not, at first, much enriched by architectural details. The impression made by the surface is that it is stiff and only slightly ornamental. The surface is merely relieved by thin strips of pilasters merging into arched corbels (see the façade of St. Philibert at Tournus, Pl. 107). Wherever there is a transept there is a tower over the crossing. When seen from the east, the tower, together with the echeloned aisle choirs and the transept chapels (as occurring in those churches on the Cluniac plan), form a picturesque group. The introduction of the ambulatory with radiating chapels enhances the beauty of the pile. Western towers are rare. The following churches had western towers: Tournus, probably Cluny II and St. Étienne at Nevers, all in Burgundy, and Jumièges, St. Étienne and Trinité at Caen in Normandy.



25. Tournus, St. Philibert, Cross-section of Western Part

VIII.

THE LATE ROMANESQUE BASILICA

It is principally in Burgundy and in the middle districts of the Loire, as well as in Normandy, that the basilican plan was further developed.

Great edifices were erected after the middle of the century, in which older plans dating from the first half of the eleventh century are further developed: La-Charité-sur-Loire, commenced in 1056, consecrated in 1107, has retained the lower part of the transept wings dating from its foundation. Originally, the choir and eastern parts were copies of the Majolus basilica at Cluny, though they were richer in their ordinance and more spacious. On both sides of the choir were three chapels, each one projecting beyond the other. St. Étienne at Nevers, which has already been mentioned in dealing with the Auvergnate buildings, has a barrel-vaulted nave and transept and a choir with ambulatory and radiating chapels. The elongated choir of St. Benoît-sur-Loire (1062) is also barrel vaulted, as well as the continuations of the aisles which flank it and merge into the ambulatory. The galleries are replaced by flat, blind wall arcading under the windows. The third church at Cluny, commenced in 1088 under St. Hugh and consecrated in 1103,[1] represents the apex of development. It was a five-aisled basilica with two transepts in the end and with ambulatories and radiating chapels (Figs. 26, 27). In the west there was an elongated three-aisled narthex which was only erected in 1220. The interior is of uncommon size and astonishingly spacious, and the exterior also presents new and enriched groupings compared to which the richer type of Auvergnate buildings appears simple. The pile is enlivened by six towers, one over each crossing, one over each wing of the longer transept, and two in the west. The mighty square tower over the crossing of the western transept dominated the whole pile. Only the southern transept wing, with its tower, is now standing.

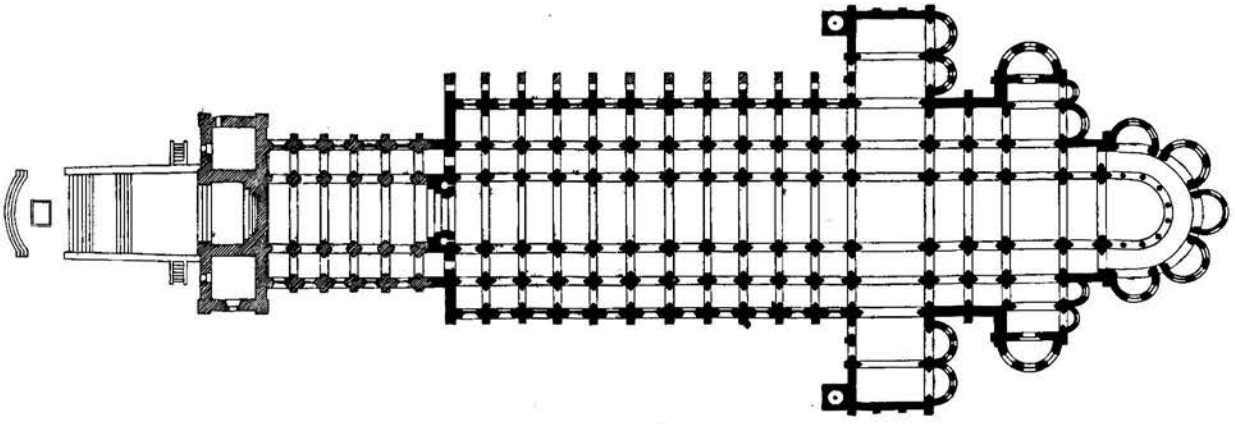
The naves and aisles were roofed by pointed barrel vaults; the inner aisles were cross-vaulted. The nave walls are pierced by tall pointed pier arcades and (in imitation of antique buildings, such as the Porte d'Arroux at Autun) surmounted by two rows of blind arcades, of which the lower contains the windows.

The most imposing church of mediæval Christendom, namely the third church at Cluny, was as much copied as its predecessor. It represents (at least for eastern Gaul) an attempt to enrich the basilican plan, especially by the grouping of the various parts and their plastic appearance. Copies, though of more modest dimensions, soon arise everywhere. Burgundy and the neighbouring regions evolve a type imitating antique models in which they retained the barrel vaulting, the arching of which is slightly pointed, as well as with the pointed pier arches. The distinguishing feature of these buildings is the fluted Corinthian pilaster. Probably the most important examples are: St. Lazare Cathedral at Autun (Fig. 28) and the churches of Paray-le-Monial and La-Charité-sur-Loire after their renovation, the cathedrals of Beaune and Langres, Lyon and Vienne (partly completed at a later period). The foundations of all these edifices were laid in the 12th century.

Besides the type of St. Hugh's Basilica at Cluny, with its barrel vaults, pilasters, capitals and arcades of

[1] v. Lücken (op. cit.) endeavours to prove that the consecration of the altar in 1095 refers to the whole building, which he supposes to have been completed in Hugh's days; he presumes that the church collapsed in 1125. Within five years, he thinks, a new (fourth) church with a modified ground plan was erected. The reasons against this hypothesis will be dealt with later in section X.

antique character, Burgundy developed a second type, which also makes for a more monumental and plastic treatment of buildings. But architectural and structural unity and coherence are lacking as the old order is still retained. The new feature of this basilican plan is the substitution of the barrel vault by cross-vaulting as well as widening the aisles to harmonize with the proportions of the nave. The most important example is the church of La Madeleine at Vezelay (Pl. 268),[1] which was rebuilt after 1120. In this edifice, however, parts of the earlier structure were used. It is a three-aisled, columned basilica with cross-vaulted bays which are separated by powerful transverse ribs springing from vaulting shafts. The upper walls are spaced by the vaulting shafts and are devoid of horizontal blind arcading. This plan of building is recognisable as a reaction against the predilection for architectural unity as expressed in Cluny III. Very often the transept is lacking in the small type of church, *e.g.*, St. Lazare at Avallon and the edifices at Issy-l'Evêque and Toulon-sur-Arroux.



26. Cluny, Third Abbey Church, Ground Plan

27. Cluny, Third Abbey Church, Model

The churches of Autun and Vézelay, which represent two different types, are important as models of the various tendencies in the development of Romanesque architecture. The buildings modelled on the plan of St. Hugh's at Cluny are distinguished by a pronounced feeling of classicism, a tendency towards lucid spacing and vivid details in connection with the employment of antique forms. But, nevertheless, the impression of unity and coherence as well as the dominance of the main features remains. Altogether, we may say that every trait seems organic and in harmony with the Romanesque style. The buildings influenced by Vézelay seem to hark back to an earlier stage of development in so far as they have simple ground plans, show a tendency to disconnect constructural details and exclude antique forms. But, on the other hand, new features are introduced, namely, the dynamic and the functional, which latter is expressed by a stronger emphasis on the supporting members (the round embedded shafts are no longer attached to square nuclei, but to cruciform ones). Another new feature is the general adoption of cross-vaulting throughout the whole church, this tending to split up the unity. Instead of accentuating single structural members, care is taken to prevent any particular part or ornament from being too prominent. Although the vaults are interdependent and serve to strengthen each other, the most important structural members are not unduly conspicuous. When, on the other hand, the most

[1]) v. Lücken (op. cit.) gives illustrations and ground plans of the most important buildings. Besides Vézelay, they include the following: Anzy-le-Duc, Saint-Martin-du-Bourg and Saint-Lazare at Avallon, Bois-Sainte-Marie, Bragny-en-Charolais; Châteauneuf, Gournon, Issy-l'Evêque, Pont-Aubert, Thil-Châtel and Toulon-sur-Arroux.

important structural parts are emphasized and external stress is laid on the functional purposes of the supporting members, a new style begins to evolve. And this style was not destined to develop in Burgundy, but in Normandy.

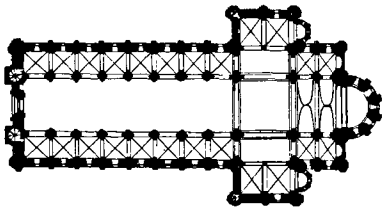
As mentioned above, the Norman churches adopt the ground plan of the Majolus basilica at Cluny in their eastern parts as early as the beginning of the 11th century. There are subsidiary choirs opening out of the main choir, by means of arcades, in the churches of Bernay, Jumièges, Falaise, Caen (St. Nicolas), Lessay, Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville (Fig. 29) and numerous other edifices. In the Trinité church at Caen the main choir is separated from the more recent subsidiary ones by walls (Fig. 30). Usually, the transept wings have chapels or apses in the east wall, so that, seen from east to west from the outside, the plan is an echelon. The ambulatory with radiating chapels was only adopted at a later date after much hesitation: Lillers Saint-Omer (*c.* 1100), Fécamp (1106). A common feature of all cruciform basilicas is the tower over the crossing. Some edifices in Normandy also have great western towers (St. Étienne at Caen, St. Nicolas, Trinité). In early times the side aisles were cross-vaulted, nave and transept having a flat ceiling or open timber roof. The Norman churches are interesting in that they show how the higher walls of the nave were predestined at an early date to take the cross-vaulting, as they have vaulting-shafts, though originally serving merely ornamental and not technical purposes. No other part of France possesses churches the nave walls of which are so diversely and individually spaced.[1] Very few early basilicas limit themselves to unornamented or recessed pier arches resting on square or cylindrical columns with half columns on the face, as well as windows in the nave wall. A strongly accentuated vertical rhythm is evolved by applying to the face of the columns vaulting shafts running up the whole height of the nave: Notre-Dame-sur-l'Eau at Domfront, Montivilliers,[2] St. Gervais at Falaise, in the church of Graville alternating with columns without shafts. But such two-storeyed divisions are rare in Normandy. Already, as early as the beginning of the 11th century, an intermediate storey is added, as, for instance, at Bernay. Over the pier arches there are triforium arcades which open into the nave by means of coupled arches under the windows. Jumièges (Pl. 143) presents a continuation of the system obtaining in Graville church, and apparently it was intended to be cross-vaulted. The round columns alternate with square ones faced with vaulting-shafts; above the pier arches there are triforium

28. Autun, St. Lazare, Interior, Looking East

[1] See Pinder, "Einleitende Voruntersuchungen zu einer Rhythmik romanischer Innenräume in der Normandie," 1904; and his "Zur Rhythmik romanischer Innenräume in der Normandie," 1905. All the buildings mentioned above are reproduced by him.

[2] Photographs of the interior in Gall, Gotische Baukunst, I, 1925, p. 26.

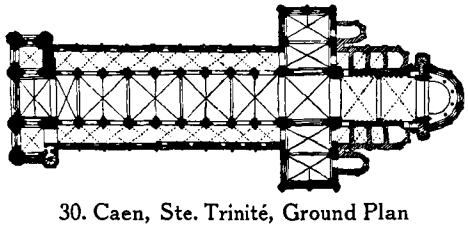
arcades surmounted by plain windows. Mont-Saint-Michel has a similar plan, but without alternating columns and without real galleries behind the arcades (Pl. 144). The system was also further modified by placing the nave windows in arcades in front of a narrow passage in the wall, a special Norman feature: Cérisy-la-Forêt, St. Étienne at Caen.[1] The plain surface has been replaced by rhythmical spacing. Even if there are no galleries, the space between the pier arches and the windows is treated horizontally by blind arcading or triforia, as, for instance, in the Trinité church at Caen (Pl. 147) as well as in Le Mans Cathedral (Pl. 131). By this method the impression of an unbroken wall (according with the Romanesque tradition) is retained without suppressing the dynamic element. Thus Le Mans Cathedral differs distinctly from St. Étienne at Caen (Fig. 31).



29. St. Martin-de-Boscherville, St. Georges, Ground Plan

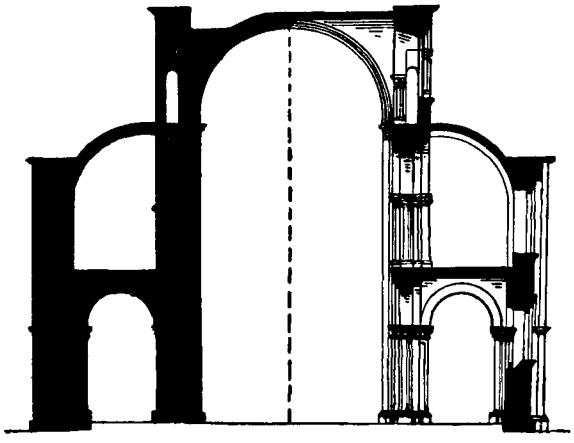
All these constructive measures were not primarily intended to carry the vaulting. Even if transverse arches springing from the main piers and spanning the nave are introduced perhaps with alternating columns, as at Cérisy-la-Foret or at St. Martin-de-Boscherville, there was at first no question of carrying out the central vault. The nave walls of these churches show, even without vaulting, the predilection of the new period for the dynamic in the vertical and in the horizontal such as is not met with in any other French school.

It is due to Gall[2] that the prejudices of a rational epoch were overcome, for it was at this period that the idea prevailed that the Gothic style arose from technical innovations, above all from the employment of the diagonal rib. It is impossible to locate the exact spot where cross-vaulting was first resorted to. Whereas the groined



30. Caen, Ste. Trinité, Ground Plan

cross-vault was borrowed from the antique, there can be no doubt that the ribbed vault was a late mediæval invention. It is not yet possible to date ribbed vaulting in Lombardy. But in Normandy it is already met with at the end of the 11th century. Wherever naves are vaulted in Normandy, in contradistinction to Burgundy, this is done by cross-rib vaulting. Gall proffers convincing proofs that rib vaulting was destined no more than the shafts to serve structural purposes, but that the ribs of the vaulting were merely a means of expressing the dynamic element, because the simple groins of the cross-vaulting were too weak an optic expression of the new tendency. An investigation of the vault shows "that its stability mainly depends on the homogeneousness of the solid masses because the curve of the diagonal



31. Caen, St. Étienne, Cross-section

ribs is statically so faulty that they are constructionally practically of no importance. The later — Gothic — vaults are different in character, the vaulting surfaces being only a light filling between the diagonal ribs and actually supported by them; their curves are pure semicircles, whereas the transverse ribs, in order to reach the same apex, had to assume the form of a pointed arch."[1] For this reason Romanesque ribs are not structural members. Like the vaulting shafts, they are merely symbols of such, and serve to express the dynamic element. How far this technique was from the Gothic may be seen by the fact that ribs were employed to construct a sexpartite or octopartite vault spanning two bays, and reminiscent of the old groined vault (Creuilly, Bernières, Ouistreham, Trinité at Caen). As the vaults covered a wider area, the effect of spaciousness and unity was produced in the nave at the end of the Romanesque period, in contradistinction to the tendencies of the Gothic style. This type of vaulting spread — as shown above — soon after its inception via Anjou to Aquitaine, where it often replaces the cupolas over single-aisled aulic churches.

IX.

SECULAR EDIFICES.

The same laws which apply to sacred buildings also apply to secular edifices both with regard to the

[1] See the analysis and the instructive cross-section in Gall, op. cit., p. 23 *et seq.*

[2] See Gall, op. cit. p. 28 *et seq.*

[1] See Gall, op. cit., p. 33.

different periods as well as regions. Although France possesses a great number of early mediæval secular buildings, hitherto little has been done to study them.[1] It is, therefore, impossible to deal with them otherwise than as types.

The most important early mediæval secular buildings were the castle and monastery around which settlements sprang up and which only assumed the character of towns by circumvallation after the 12th and 13th centuries. France, particularly in the south, has numerous mediæval towns, the edifices of which, it is true, do not date earlier than the 13th and 14th centuries. Leaving aside the ancient Celtic and Roman settlements, the mediæval towns had, on the one hand, grown up under the walls of a monastery (St. Gilles, Castres, Moissac, La-Réole) or of a castle (Carcassone Cité, Pl. 183), or, on the other hand, they were planned by some overlord, in which case they were regularly laid out on the chess-board plan, with streets at right angles (Carcassone, Lower Town, Aigues-mortes, Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, Sauveterre-de-Guyenne).[2] The towns were characterized by their many towers and spires. The double rows of walls which enclose the outer bailey, with high battlements surmounted by towers placed close to one another, and the town gates, generally flanked by twin towers, and, above all, the donjon-like palaces of the nobles in the interior of the town, vested it with a fortress-like appearance, as may still be seen by the wall of the Cité de Carcassone and Aigues-mortes. On the other hand, the castles of the nobility have mostly disappeared within the towns, hence mighty fortress-like edifices as met with in the Italian towns (Albenga, S. Gimignano) are hardly ever found nowadays within the walls. In those cases when there were castles of the nobility in the towns they were only erected in the late Middle Ages. The early mediæval castle stands on a height or is moated. Examples of Romanesque castles still surrounded by the settlements which had sprung up under the protection of their walls are: Cruas (Pls. 74, 184) and Les Baux in the valley of the Rhône. Whereas in Germany and Italy it was the custom to consider the keep as a practically uninhabitable fortified tower only to be used for living purposes in times of danger, and to place the dwelling-rooms and festival hall in the palatium and in the women's and men's wings, in France the keep or donjon was also devoted to dwelling purposes. The older donjons were rectangular and usually had a vaulted chamber on the ground floor which was used for storage purposes. Over it was a vaulted hall. The only entrance was on this floor by means of wooden stairs which could be removed in case of danger. The storeys above were used as dwelling-rooms and for purposes of defence. The oldest donjon, dating from 995, is in Loches (Indre-et-Loire.[1]

At the end of the 11th century the donjons become more varied and richer in form. Polygonal buildings are those at Gisors (Eure) (1097) and Carentan (Manche), Châtillon-sur-Loing (Loiret). The tower of St. Sauveur (Yonne) is eliptical: there are round donjons at Châteaudun and Laval. Those of Les-Andelys, La-Roche-Guyon and Issoudon are partly round and partly angular, according to the requirements of the site. The donjon at Étampes, La Tour Guinette, was erected in 1150, and is a group of four adjoining circular towers. The donjons at Provins, Niort, Chauvigny, Pouzauges, Tiffauges and Châtellier-Châteaumur have either a rectangular, polygonal or a circular (Houdan 1105—1147) nucleus, with four round turrets. Very large castles, such as Niort, Le-Blanc and Vernod (Dordogne), have two donjons.

After the 12th century both the town walls and the castle walls were fortified by defensive towers and crowned by battlements (La-Roche-Guyon, Conches, Château-Gaillard-des-Andelys, 1145).

As the donjons contain all the required apartments, it was only necessary to erect special palatia where the donjon was too small, as at Castelnau-de-Bretenoux (Lot) and at Burlats (Tarn, Pl. 182), where the halls are lighted by nobly proportioned windows. These palatia are similar to bishops' and abbots' halls (Auxerre, Pl. 186, Vendôme). The types of houses preserved in the towns imitate the castle palatia, the façades of which were richly ornamented with windows. A particularly rich and ornamental façade is that of the Choral School of Rouen Cathedral (Pl. 179). Pilaster-strips flanked by embedded shafts or merging above into wall columns support a row of small wall arcades under which are windows ornamented with figures, and above the wall arcades a cornice. Numerous houses at Cluny (Pl. 181)[2] are similar, with a ground-floor hall and a row of arched windows in the upper story. Examples are: the town-hall at Saint-Antonin (Tarn-et-Garonne, Pl. 180), a house at Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, the sacristy of Nevers Cathedral, the "Elephant" at Montferrand and the façade of the outbuilding of St. Jean at Angers.

Particular attention is paid in France to the hood of the chimney: "Le manteau ou la hotte de la cheminée a la forme très logique d'un entonnoir de pierre arrondi, dont le bord inférieur est orné de quelques sculptures

[1] Important works on the subject are: Viollet-le-Duc, "Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du 10e au 16e siècle," 1854 *et seq.*; Verdier et Cattois, "Architecture civile et domestique au moyen âge, I," 1864; v. Schlosser, "Die abendländische Klosteranlage des frühen Mittelalters," 1889; Michel, "Histoire de l'art," I, 1905; Swoboda, "Römische und romanische Paläste." 1919.

[2] See Brinckmann, "Stadtbaukunst," 1920, with plans of the above-mentioned towns.

[1] Other donjons of the 11th and 12th centuries, according to Michel, "Histoire de l'art, I," 1905, p. 484 are at: Arques (Seine-Inférieure), Beaugency (Loiret), Broue (Charente-Inf.), Chambois (Orne), Chauvigny (Vienne), Conflans (Seine-et-Oise), Crest (Drôme), Domfront (Orne), Grez-sur-Loing (Seine-et-Marne), Montbazon (Indre-et-Loire), Montbrun (Haute-Loire, c. 1180), Montcontour (Deux-Sèvres), Montélimar (Drôme), Moret (Seine-et-Marne), La Roche-Crozet (Creuze), Salon (Corrèze), Saint-Émilion (Gironde), Sainte-Suzanne (Mayenne).

[2] Verdier et Cattois, op. cit. reproduce the ground plan and façades of more than twenty French houses of the early Middle Ages; cf. also Swoboda, op. cit., particularly p. 261 *et seq.*

et soulagé par des colonettes ou des pilastres encadrant l'âtre. Le conduit de la fumée affecte la forme cylindrique et se termine par un élégant lanternon coiffé d'un cône de pierre à fleuron terminal."[1] This member may be seen in the chapter-house of Le Puy, at Castlenau-de-Bretenoux and at Brantôme and in the Lazar house at Périgueux. The kitchen of Fontevrault Abbey (Pl. 181) has a chimney built on the central plan, with apses and a conical roof, and is particularly impressive.

From the very outset the monasteries have all the characteristics of the later Middle Ages. Thus the ground plan of Fontanella monastery[2] which was built (822—833) in Carolingian times has all the different buildings of the later plan. The centre of the close was the cloister. This had already, in Carolingian times, exchanged the position it occupied in the early days of Christianity in front of the west façade of the church for a more retired and more peaceful site adjoining one or the other of the side aisles. Arcades separate the cloisters from the garth, which was ornamented with a fountain. A great number of these cloisters have been preserved, both adjoining the monasteries and the cathedrals. Amongst those reproduced in this volume that of Le Puy (Pl. 175) gives the best conception of the plan as a whole. The excellent treatment of details is well exemplified in the cloisters of St. Trophîme at Arles (Pls. 163—165), Elne (Pls. 166, 167), Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Pls. 168, 169), Moissac (Pls. 170, 171), St. Lizier (Pl. 172) and Vaison (Pl. 173). The church adjoined the cloister on the north or south, and against the other three arms lay other buildings, the existence of which was necessitated by the general rules of the monastery in relation to the cathedral clergy. Opposite the church was the refectory, on the east side of the cloister the chapter-house (cf. St. Martin at Tulle, Pl. 177); over this was the dormitory; on the west side were chiefly store-rooms; and beyond these there were conversation rooms, libraries, etc., in different parts of the buildings. Beyond these clustered buildings, called, collectively, the close, lay, as a rule, the Abbot's residence or the Bishop's palace. In addition, the monastery, which, in contradistinction to the cathedral, was originally built in an isolated spot, was surrounded by a large number of auxiliary buildings, hospitals, hostels and the like, as is well shown in the view of the Cistercian Abbey of Fontfroide (Pl. 161). The whole was surrounded by a fortified wall.

Among other buildings we may mention the bridges. The Romanesque period produced several very important examples after the Roman model, among them the bridge of twenty-seven arches at Tours (Indre-et-Loire), 1031—1037, and the beautiful bridge at Avignon (Vaucluse), 1177—1185. Only a few ruins of fountains have survived. They consist of basins grouped round a central column. Examples are: Provins (Seine-et-Marne), and Obazine (Corrèze). Limoges (Haute-Vienne) possessed a magnificent monument in its Fontaine du Chevalet, with a statue of Constantine, equestrian statues of whom are also to be found on the façades of several western churches. Rheims (Marne) had a similar fountain, with a stag, in front of the Archbishop's palace. Characteristic French monuments are those slender towers the Lanterns of the Dead (probably influenced by Persian grave towers), examples of which may be seen in the churchyards at Cellefrouin, Charente-Inférieure (Pl. 178).[1]

X.

SCULPTURE

The general development of style is more clearly mirrored in the sculptural ornament and in statues than in the more massive products of architecture. Nearly every form of free sculpture perished in Gaul and the other southern countries under the influence of Christian asceticism and the Teutonic dislike of statuesque presentment of the human figure. Representations of the human figure become rarer; Oriental plant motifs and geometrical patterns replace them.[2] The last marble sarcophagi ornamented with human figures in the antique style, the last diptychs of the Consuls, the last ivories with mythological scenes appear in the west in the early part of the 6th century. After the age of Clovis and Theoderic the monumental presentment of the human figure practically ceases. The numerous sarcophagi dating from the 6th and 7th centuries which have been preserved, as well as screens, columns and capitals, are ornamented with matwork, scrollwork and attenuated acanthus leaves treated in the flat. Once in a while a human figure is represented, for instance on the screen of St. Peter's in Metz Museum, and on the somewhat later relief with Daniel in the Lions' Den at Charlien.[3]

The age of Charlemagne sees the beginning of a change. This monarch fostered the study of late antique and early christian painting, sculpture and architecture. The small bronze monument of Charlemagne from Metz Cathedral is still preserved in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. It is the copy of an antique equestrian statue.[4] Ivories and goldsmiths' works of the 8th and 9th centuries are more often met with. Stone sculptures of this period are rare.

After the Carolingian times the classicism which

[1] See Michel, op. cit. p. 486.

[2] See v. Schlosser, "Die abendländische Klosteranlage des frühen Mittelalters," 1889, p. 29.

[1] See Kühnel, "Islamische Einflüsse in der romanischen Kunst," Minutes of the Kunstgesch, Ges., Berlin, 11th Nov. 1927.

[2] See Le Blant, "Études sur les sarcophages de la ville d'Arles," 1878; Le Blant, "Les sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule," 1886; and v. Sybel, "Christliche Antike," II, 1909. Riegl's "Die Spätrömische Kunstindustrie" I, 1909, still offers the best analysis of the rigidness that crept into Romanesque art, but not of its causes.

[3] See Porter, "Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads," 1923, Pl. 1.

[4] See Clemen, "Die Porträtdarstellungen Karls des Grossen," 1889; Clemen, "Merowingische und karolingische Plastik," 1892; Goldschmidt, "Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und römischen Kaiser," I, 1914, II, 1918; Michel, "Histoire de l'art," I, 1905, p. 589 *et seq.*

marked the epoch of Charlemagne began to decline and a new conventionalization of style set in. The plastic round forms are replaced by such in the flat. Natural motifs are replaced by those of a more abstract character. A new ascetic tendency turns against statuary, but is not able to prevent the setting up of costly statues of Saints. Amongst the treasures of Sainte-Foy at Conques there is a gold statue of Saint Fides on a throne made in the middle of the 10th century. It is block-like in shape with a strong accentuation of the surrounding surface. In the Liber Miraculorum Sanctae Fidis[1] two clerics, in the beginning of the 11th century, relate how, having at first opposed the setting up of the statues of Saints, they were converted at Conques by the Saint herself. It was at this period that plastic art began to flourish again: above all, stone statuary was destined to attain to an importance not equalled in other countries. It is easy to trace regional schools which coincide more or less with the different schools of architecture.[2] Development is along the same lines as that of the Carolingian period, but this time the forms are more natural and organic, and stand out more in the round. At any rate, in Aquitaine and Burgundy they are no longer of a restained character and become more animated and life-like, whereas in other districts, as, for instance, in Provence — which depended on the influence of late antique art — as well as in the Isle-de-France, the predilection for restraint and simplicity does not cease till the end of the Romanesque period, not only with statues, but also with storeyed reliefs.

The lintel of the church portal at Saint-Genis-des Fontaines (Pyr.-Or.) with the representation of the Maiestas Domini surrounded by angels and saints[3] is closely related to the lintel of the neighbouring church at Saint André-de-Sorède. The style of the older work seems to have been influenced by a Carolingian model, as the treatment is very flat and the incised folding of the drapery singularly unrestrained. The contemporary bronze figures at Hildesheim and Augsburg, when compared with the above, are not only more artistic, but riper in style. The same remarks apply to the crucifix (1025) with Longinus and Stephaton on the front of St. Mesme at Chinon.[4]

The tomb of St. Isarnus (d. 1048) in St. Victor at Marseilles[5] dates from the middle of the 11th century. Its treatment is particularly plastic and free, as is also that of the Maiestas Domini at Arles-sur-Tech.[6] Sculpture becomes more restrained and less minute in treatment under the influence of Byzantine ivories. The tympanum of the western portal of the church at Charlieu,[1] consecrated 1094, with the Maiestas Domini and the Apostles, may be regarded as one of the masterpieces of the 11th century. Reliefs carved at about the same time, probably of a large predella, are now in the ambulatory of St. Sernin at Toulouse and represent Christ on the Throne, angels and Saints (Pls. 230, 231). The Apostles and founders in the cloister of Moissac (Pl. 171) date from the 11th century, according to an inscription. These reliefs have a marked "calligraphic" character, and, judging by their smoothness and regularity, were probably inspired by Byzantine models. "Flatness of the relief, the garments smooth, as though stuck to the body, with incised lines to imitate drapery, the narrow straight hem, stereotyped faces with spectacle-like lines around the eyes, a long powerful nose, small ears, bloated cheeks and conventionalized plaited hair are all characteristics of the style, as they continually recur."[2]

This style perished, and the magnificent development of 12th century sculpture set in. The capitals of the Cluny ambulatory (Pl. 265)[3] may be regarded as the last echo. It is a much disputed point[4] whether they belong to St. Hugh's Church; in other words, whether they date from the end of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th centuries or not. Their artistic treatment differs so much from that of the plastic and lively figures on the capitals of the churches at Saulieu[5] (consecrated 1119) and from those in the Madeleine at Vézelay, and the higher degree of artistic development of the capitals in the latter two churches is so obvious, that the capitals in Cluny should be dated during St. Hugh's lifetime.

The Burgundian style, however, with which one is most familiar and which is best represented by the tympana of Vézelay with the Pentecost, 1132 (Pl. 268), and of Autun Cathedral with the Last Judgment, 1119 to 1132 (Pls. 267, 269), develops later along a special line and independent of Cluniac art. It is possible that Gislebertus, the Master of Autun, was inspired by paintings of the Winchester school,[6] as were also the sculptors of the too slender and awkward figures on Vézelay tympanum. The influence of English art in these two Burgundian tympana still requires to be studied because

[1] See Bouillet et Servières, Sainte-Foy, 1900; new edition of the "Liber Miraculorum," 1897.

[2] In reference to the history of plastic arts see, above all, Porter, "Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads," 1923.

[3] See Porter, op. cit., p. 28. Pl. 513.

[4] Porter, Pl. 897. There is a similar composition of the Crucifixion, to which John the Baptist is added, on the capital at Rivière (Pl. 210) dating from the end of the 11th century. As to the iconography, cf. Mâle, op. cit., p. 78 *et seq.*

[5] Ibid., Pl. 1278.

[6] Ibid., Pl. 518.

[1] Ibid., Pl. 4.

[2] See Vöge, "Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stils," 1894, p. 68.

[3] The predella at Avenas (Rhône), the capitals at Aucy-le-Duc, the earliest capitals in Vézelay, the Maiestas Domini at Saint-Amour (Sâone-et-Loire), the tympana at Thuret (Puy-de-Dôme) and Mars-sur-Allliers Pl. 270), cf. Porter, Pl. 11 *et seq.*, 106, 1139 *et seq.*, are of the same style.

[4] v. Lücken, Kautzsch and Beenken (according to a verbal statement) consider the year 1100 as too early a date, so do various earlier French scholars Porter, op. cit., p. 27 *et seq.*, considers the date to be correct. It is also the opinion of the author that the development from the portal in Charlieu to the capitals of Cluny is not so great that it is necessary to place the date as late as 1130.

[5] Porter, Pl. 52 *et seq.*

[6] See Hamburger, "Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester," 1912, and Porter, op. cit., p. 112 *et seq.*

French sculpture, especially Norman, betrays no connection with England. On the other hand, Norman sculpture characterized by special ornamental details harking back to Teutonic traditions also employs curious Oriental motifs (Bayeux, Pl. 277).[1]

Sculptural art in Languedoc attains to an even higher degree of development after the beginning of the 12th century than it does in Burgundy, "C'est là et surtout à la cour de Toulouse, que l'art comme la poésie du moyen âge, donna sa première et sa plus charmante floraison."[2] The number of works handed down to us is great. The richly sculptured capitals of Moissac cloisters (Pls. 170, 171) date back to the beginning of the century. The enormous portal was only completed shortly afterwards (Pl. 234 *et seq.*, 241, 266); the tympanum with the Apocalyptic vision is crowded with figures. Compared to them, the reliefs on the tympana of Autun and Vézelay appear skimpy and old-fashioned by reason of the minuteness of the carving. Even the figures on the recesses are imbued with exuberant vitality. But, above all, the figures on the central pillar are expressive of the new and powerful development, though the technique is not quite equal to the impetus of this youthful art. The School of Moissac, which originated in Santo Domingo de Silos, spread to Souillac (Pls. 239, 241), Brive and Beaulieu (Pl. 243).[3] The style of the Puerta de las Platerias at San Iago de Compostela exercises some influence on the south portal of St. Sernin at Toulouse (1115, Pls. 230, 232, 233) as well as on the portal at Conques (Pl. 242). A certain Master Robertus carried this style to Clermont-Ferrand and to Auvergne (Pl. 256 *et seq.*), where it mingled with Burgundian forms. Gilabertus, who carved half the number of the Apostles grouped in pairs on the chapter room portal of St. Étienne at Toulouse (Pl. 233),[4] is a sculptor who was quite uninfluenced by Spanish art. Whereas the other half of the Apostles adhere to the style of the south portal of St. Sernin, Gilabertus' work is characterized by increased refinement: the movements are more natural, the texture of the garments is less coarse, the drapery follows more closely the contours of the body. Gilabertus' style is recognizable in the cloisters of St. Étienne (Pl. 230). It lingers on the majority of the capitals of the Daurade, the earliest of which, however, are more akin to those of the south portal of St. Sernin. But the figures on the portal of the Daurade chapter hall are, as already stated by Vöge, only inferior work of the school of Chartres,[5] which produced the beautiful Annunciation at the Cordeliers (Pl. 231). Porter considers the tomb of Junianus (about 1150) in St. Jumien[1] to be a minor work coming from Gilabertus' workshop.

Sculptural art in western Aquitaine develops along a line of its own. The capitals by Gofridus in St. Pierre at Chauvigny (Pl. 256) date from the beginning of the 12th century. The figures in the narthex of Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers are akin in style. In Aquitaine, as in other districts, the flat treatment of ornamental detail becomes more plastic in the course of development.[2] This late style is represented in the ornamental details of Angoulême Cathedral (commenced 1105), and completed as to its main parts in 1128, when it was consecrated.[3] The sculptural style, as represented on this cathedral, influenced that of many edifices in Angoûmois and Saintonge. Indeed, one of the masters transplants it in 1140 to St.Gilles. The combination of human figures with exuberant ornamental details, still retaining La Tène forms, produces decorative motifs of a very fantastic character. These attain to the apex of their development on the front of Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers (*c.* 1143) and on related churches.

Provençal sculpture is entirely different from that of Aquitaine, with its exuberance of ornament and human figures. The artist of Provence endeavours to foster antique tradition by selecting his motifs from extant examples of the late Roman period. The Sedes Sapientiæ, on the predella of the old cathedral at Marseilles,[4] and related works, as, for instance, Peter and Paul on the Maguelone portal (Pl. 228), do not yet stand for the severe classicistic feeling. It is more noticeable in the frieze of Beaucaire,[5] in the figural frieze and in the pillar statues of St. Guilhem-le-Désert.[6] The apex of this development is reached in the sculptures of Romans (Pl. 225) and on the façade of St. Gilles (Pls. 221 *et seq.*). Though some artists who were not followers of antique traditions co-operated in ornamenting this edifice, *e.g.* the Master of Angoulême, most of the figures, as, for instance, the statues of Brunus or the reliefs of the upper frieze, express a strong feeling for beauty inspired by antique art. At the same time, these figures are more life-like than any other contemporary work of art in Gaul. The statues in the cloisters and those on the front of St. Trophîme at Arles (Pl. 219 *et seq.*) dating

[1] See Kühnel, op. cit.

[2] See Michel, op. cit., p. 614. The relations to neighbouring Spain are very close. "Pour la sculpture romane," Berteaux says, "il n'y a pas des Pyrenées." It is especially the aim of Porter's work to prove this.

[3] The tympana at Carenna (Pl. 245) and Cahors (Pl. 240) may be considered as echoes of his school.

[4] Thomas and Andrew are signed by Gilabertus. Peter and Paul on Pl. 233 are similar in style; see Vöge, op. cit., p. 70 *et seq.* Porter's attempt to identify the master with Gislebertus of Autun does not carry conviction. The careful design is a common trait of both.

[5] See Vöge, op. cit., p. 70.

[1] Porter, op. cit., p. 153.

[2] According to Porter, Pls. 896, 1138, it is shown in the following important edifices: Bordeaux Sainte-Croix (Pl. 53), Parthenay-le-Vieux (Pl. 66), Angoulême Cathedral (Pls. 58, 240, 246 *et seq.*), Saint-Amand-de-Boixe, Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes (Pls. 52, 252), Poitiers, Notre-Dame-la-Grande (Pl. 248) *et seq.*, Airvault, predella, Angers St. Aubin (Pls. 176, 275); Saintes Sainte-Marie-des-Dames, Aulnay (Pls. 38, 250 *et seq.*); Argenton-Château, Perignac, Chadenac, Parthenay (Pl. 254), Selles-sur-Cher (Pl. 37), Loches, Civray (Pl. 253) Vouvant (Pl. 64).

[3] The reason why the completed façade was dated as late as 1170 is because it is very similar to that of the church of St. Amand-de-Boixe, which, as has been proved by documents, was consecrated in 1170, but mention has not been made of an earlier consecration (1125).

[4] See Porter, Pl. 1284.

[5] See Porter, Pl. 1292 *et seq.*

[6] See Hamann, "Ein Skulpturfund in St. Guilhem-le-Désert," Marburger Jahrbuch, 1926.

from the end of the 12th century appear lifeless and cold when compared with those of St. Gilles.

Towards the middle of the century the artistic feeling of the period is most finely expressed in the tripartite western portal of Chartres Cathedral (Pl. 271 *et seq.*). Vöge's analysis[1] of this powerful edifice has not been surpassed, though his statement that the style is derived from Provençal art is only partly correct. The employment of figures as part of the architecture necessitated a close co-operation of all artisans and artists, and this resulted in an incomparably fine technique. Earlier examples of such work are met with on one of the façades of Western France, such as Civray, but they were never executed so lucidly. We now recognise how closely the Chartres plastics are connected with those of St. Denis, and how the influence of St. Gilles is perceptible. We also perceive the great influence exercised by Chartres on Le Mans (Pl. 274), Bourges (Pl. 262) and even on Toulouse (Pl. 231), and how this great work of architecture denotes the beginning and the end of a momentous artistic period.

Whereas, in architecture, the birth of a new style is marked by the definite employment of ribs for carrying the thrust of the cross-vault, the substitution of the wall by stained-glass windows and the transference of the thrust of the vault to the outer buttresses as well as by the narrowing of the aisles, there is no rational explanation for the transition from Romanesque to Gothic sculpture. The distinction between Early Gothic and Late Romanesque figures is, above all, an expression of feeling. If we compare the west portal of Chartres with the transept portals (which were only built a few decennaries later), or if we compare one of the queens on the west portal with one of the saints on the northern transept façade, we recognise how great the progress was from the relief to the figure in the round. The face and figure of the Romanesque statue hardly convey that impression of inner life which is so marked a trait of the Gothic figures. Herein lies the great difference between the two styles. But the development was not without set-backs, and only proceeded step by step. Two tendencies struggle for dominance: one towards restraint, the other towards efflorescence and dissolution, as may be seen, for instance, on the outside of the portal of Charlieu (Pl. 263) and on the tympanum of St. Julien-de-Joncy (Pl. 270), where the effect is nearly baroque. A general view of the development of ornament[1] would illustrate more distinctly the evolution we have dealt with.

[1] See Vöge, "Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stils," 1894.

[1] Alp's dissertation, "Die Kapitelle des 12. Jahrhunderts im Entstehungsgebiet der Gotik," Freiburg, 1927, may be regarded as the first sod turned in this hitherto neglected field of investigation.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS WERE SUPPLIED BY:

Les Archives photographiques, Paris: 49$_2$; 54$_1$; 68; 69$_1$; 76; 77; 149; 153; 181$_1$; 275; 276$_{2,3}$.

Gall, Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin: 135$_{1,2}$; 145; 147.

A. Giraudon, Paris: 195; 238; 239$_2$; 254; 257$_2$; 261; 264; 277; 279.

A. Guérinet, Paris: 213; 215; 217; 218; 231$_3$; 234; 235; 236; 240$_1$; 245; 255$_{1,2}$; 263; 269; 278$_1$.

Hamann-Stoedtner, Berlin: 1; 9; 13$_{1,2}$; 25; 72$_{1,2}$; 85; 93$_{1,2}$; 96; 104; 107$_2$; 111; 128; 144; 171; 229; 230$_{1,3}$; 231$_{1,2}$; 233; 241; 255$_2$.

J. Hoffmann, Stuttgart: 110; 113; 114; 115; 189; 190; 191.

Houvet, Chartres: 272$_{2,3}$; 273.

Kunstgesch. Institut, Marburg: 226; 227; 229; 230$_2$; 232; 237; 239$_1$; 256; 257$_{1,3,4}$; 261$_2$; 262; 265; 266; 267; 270.

Neurdein-Lévy, Paris; 7$_{1,2}$; 10; 15; 18; 25; 53; 54$_2$; 58; 71; 79; 85$_2$; 97; 99; 130; 131; 134; 136; 137; 139; 143; 148; 151$_2$; 152; 155; 156; 161; 163—167; 170; 172; 175; 176; 179; 183; 184$_2$; 185$_2$; 192; 202$_4$.

Martin, L'Art roman en France: 112$_{1,2}$.

Picture Post Cards: 49$_1$; 73$_{1,2}$; 74$_{1,2}$; 107$_1$; 184$_1$; 185$_1$.

All the rest: Comm. des Monuments historiques, Paris.

ERRATA IN THE LETTERING OF THE PLATES

2, 3 Charroux. For "about 1050" read "consecrated 1096."

29 Léoncel. For "South" read "North."

135 Beauvais. For "South" read "North."

149 Caen. For "South-East" read "West."

160 Bayeux. For "South" read "North."

170, 171 Moissac. For "after 1188, with Remains of 1100" read "to Impost *c.* 1100, Upper Part after 1188."

180 Saint-Antonin. For "Hall of the Castle, now Town-hall" read "Town-hall".

193 Paray-le-Monial. For "Part of the Portal" read "Part of the Recessed Door-arch."

204 For "Creuilly" read "Ryes."

206 Saint-Dié. For "Cathedral Sainte-Trinité" read "Notre-Dame."

228 For "Maguelonne" read "Maguelone." For "1178" read: "Erected in the 13th Century; older parts being included. Peter and Paul, *c.* 1130; Frieze dated 1178."

230 Toulouse, Saint-Étienne. Add after Herod: "after the manner of Gilabertus."

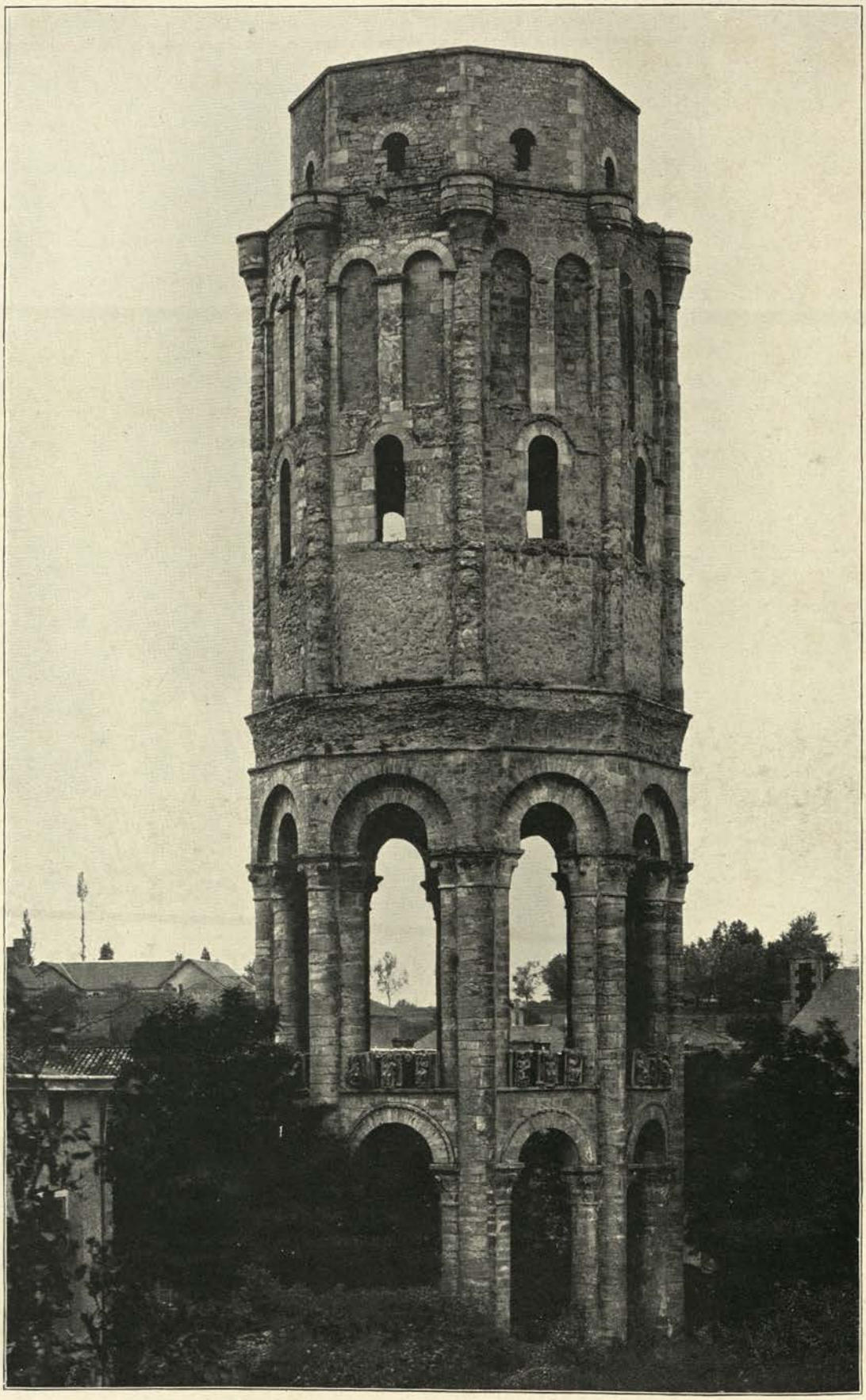
233 Toulouse, Saint-Sernin. For "West Portal" read "South Portal."

254 Parthenay. For "Elders" read "North."

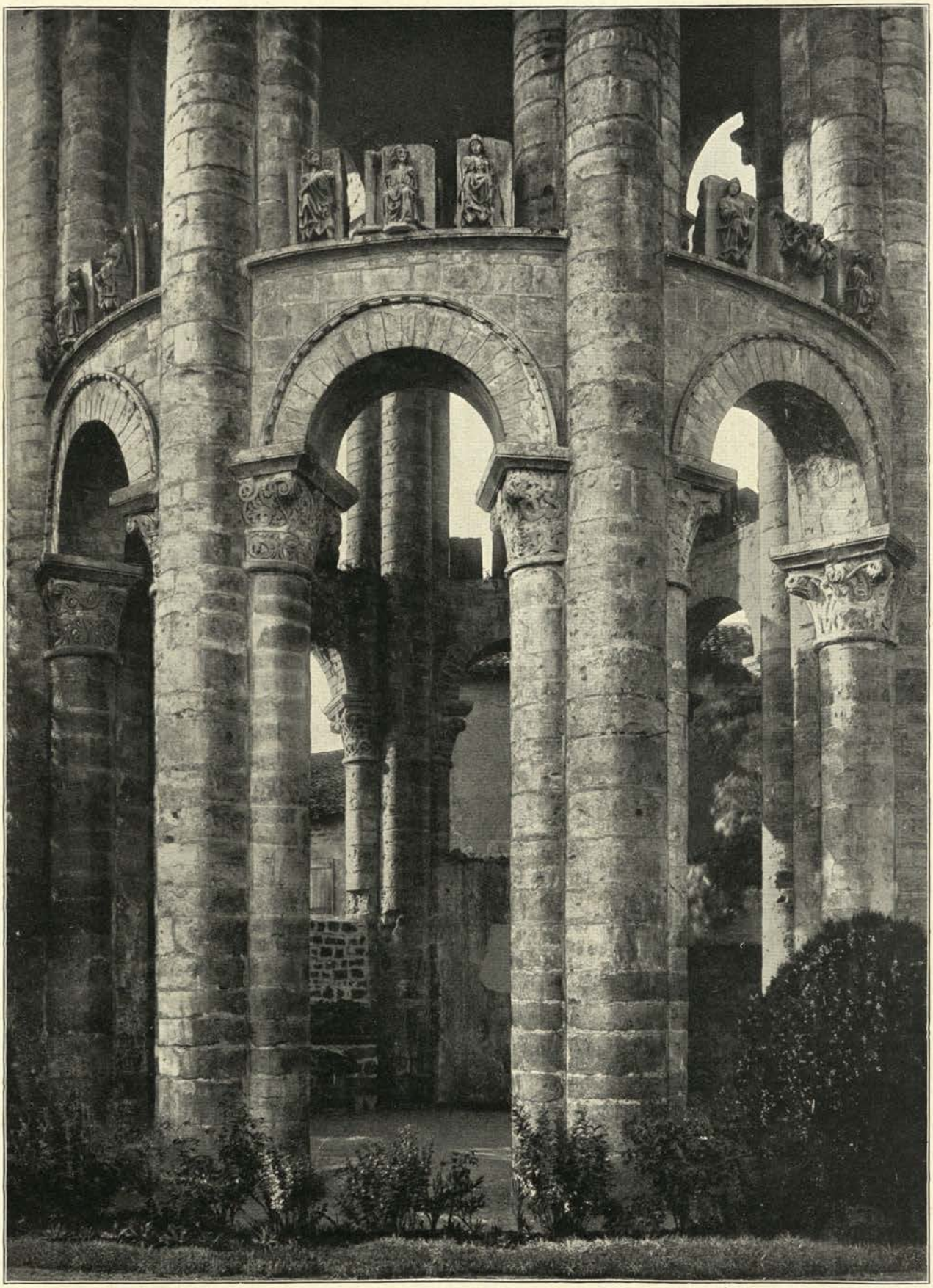
255 Saint-Junien. Add "in the manner of Gilabertus."

257 Saint-Benoit-Sur-Loire. For "Monk" read "St. Hug."

Dijon (Côte-d'Or). Saint-Bénigne (commenced in 1001), Crypt



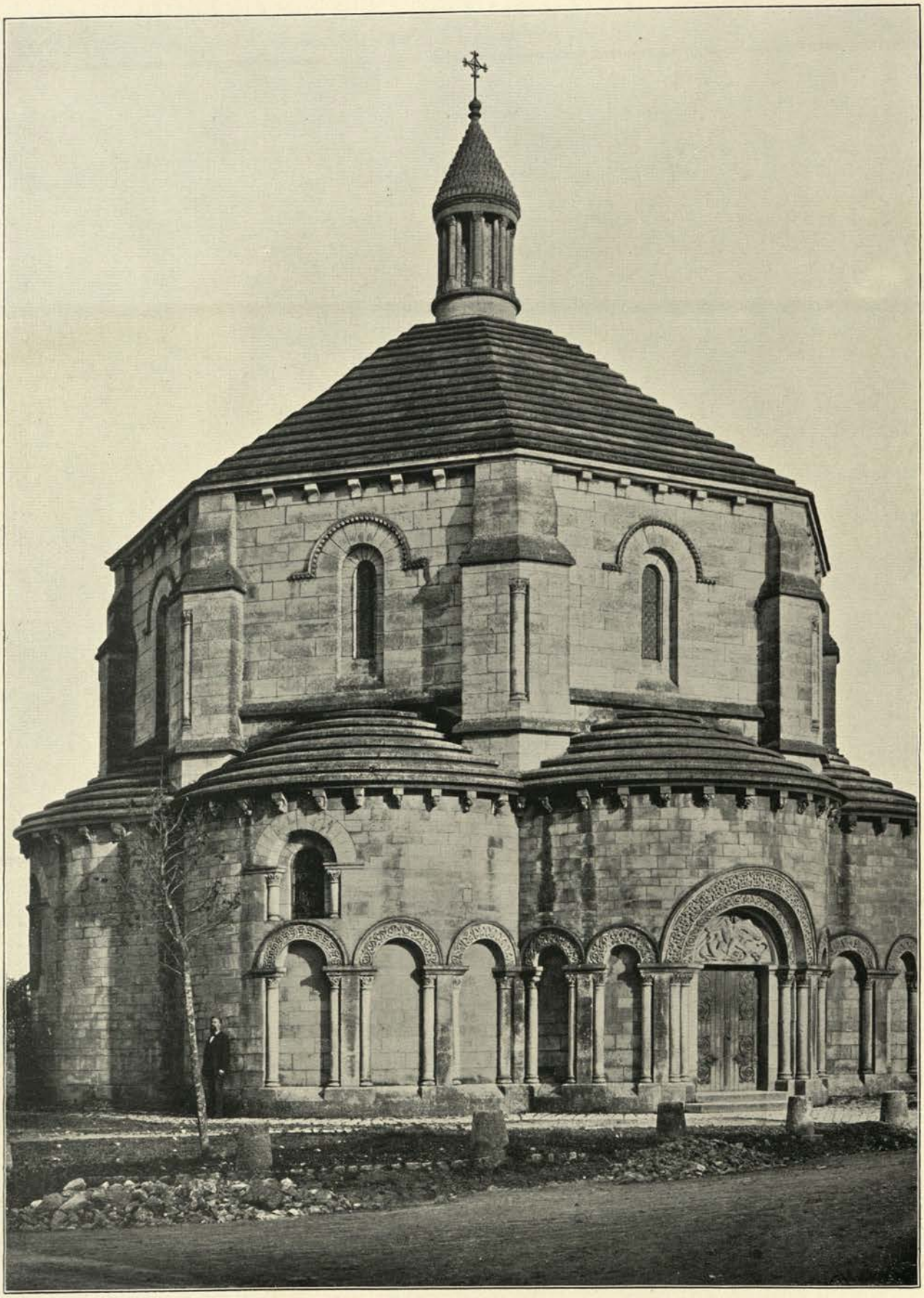
Charroux (Vienne). Church (about 1050), Tower of the Choir



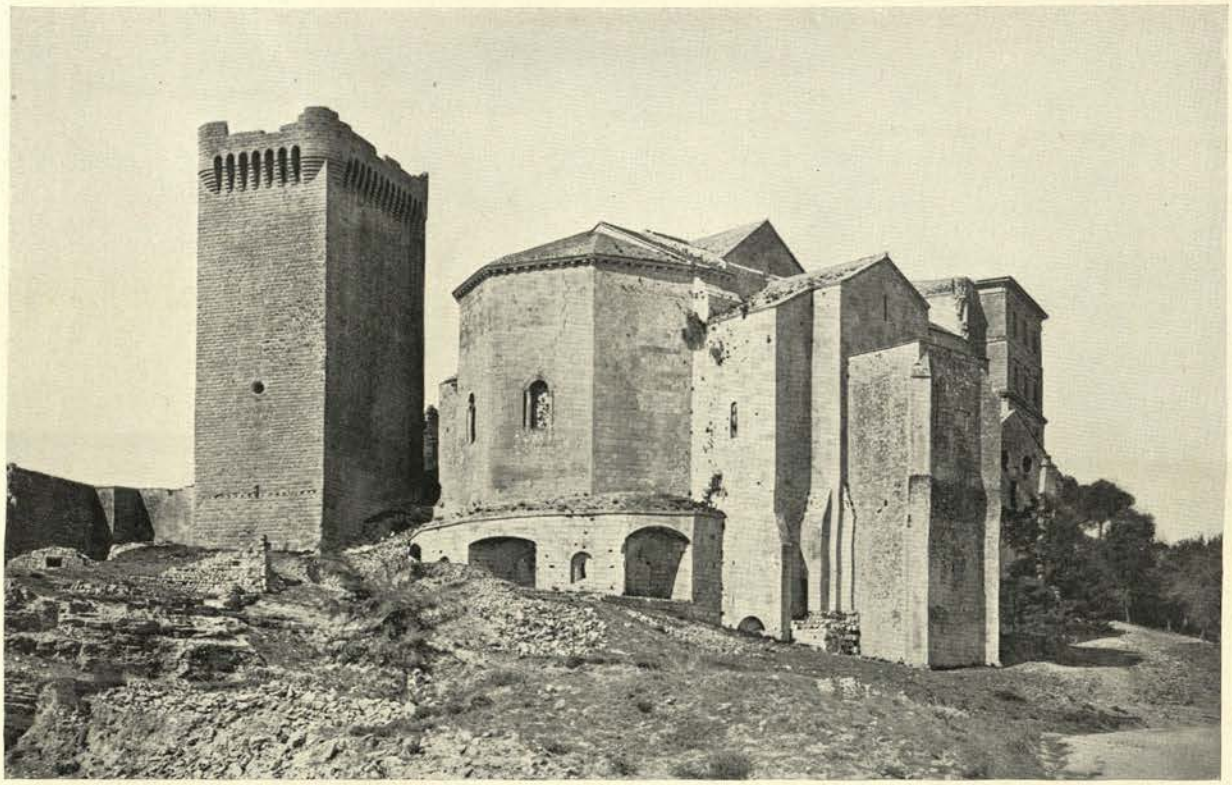
Charroux (Vienne). Church (about 1050), Tower of the Choir, lower part

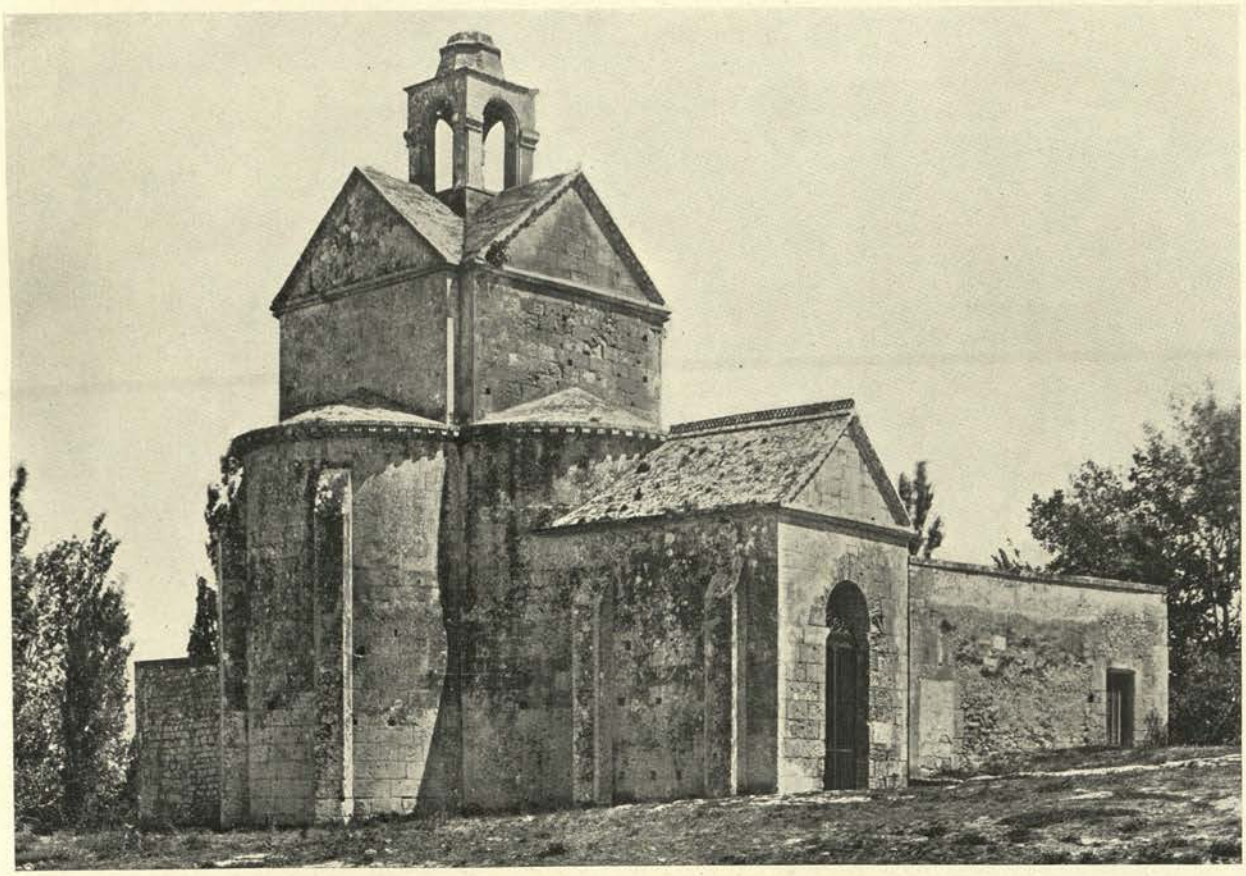
Neuvy-Saint-Sépulchre (Indre). Church (founded in 1045), Interior

Saint-Michel d'Entraigues (Charente). Church (begun in 1137), Interior



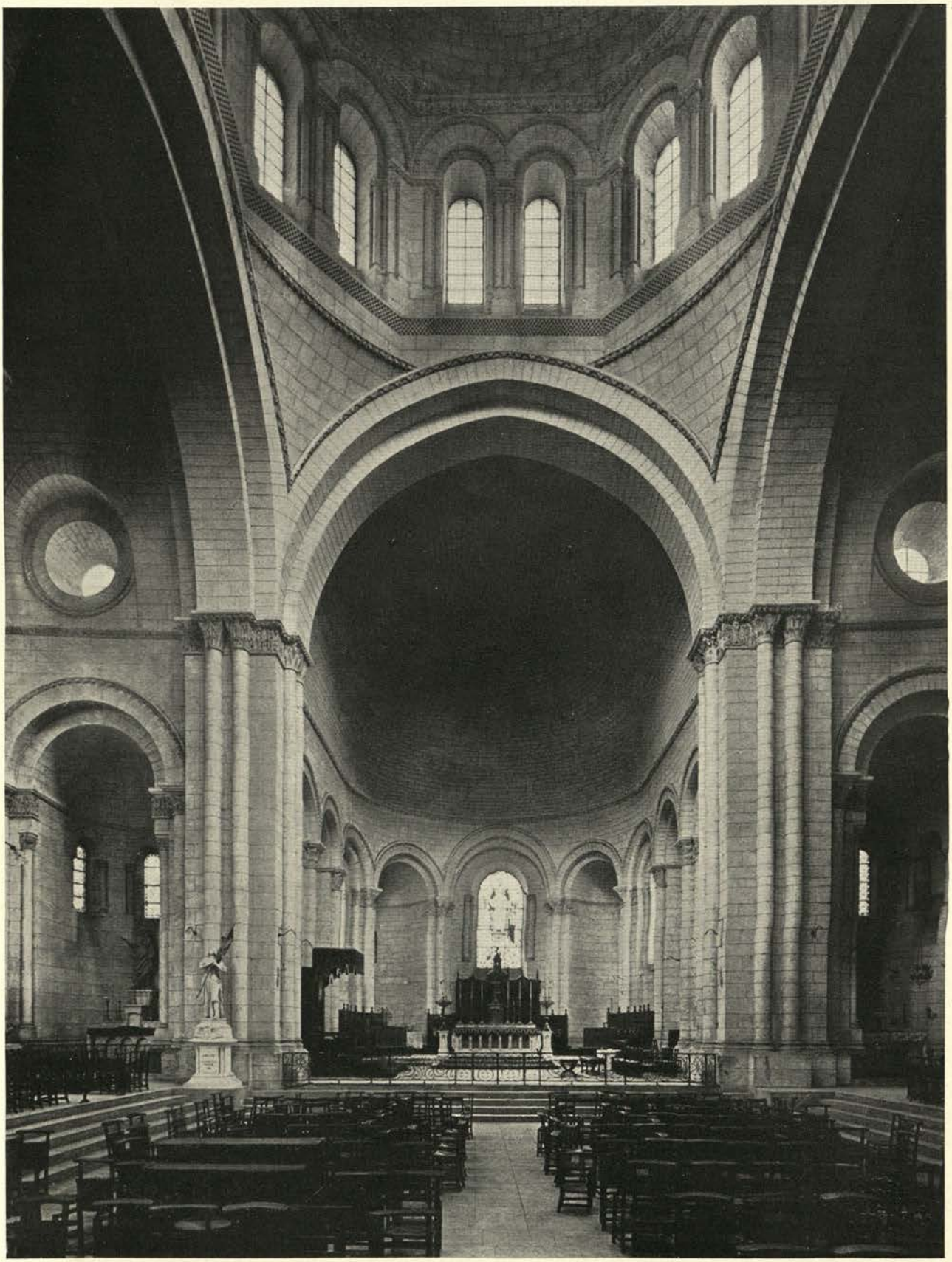
Saint-Michel d'Entraigues (Charente). Church (begun in 1137), from North-West





Montmajour (Bouches-du-Rhône). Abbey Church (Consecrated about 1153), from North-East
Sainte-Croix (about 1200), from North-West

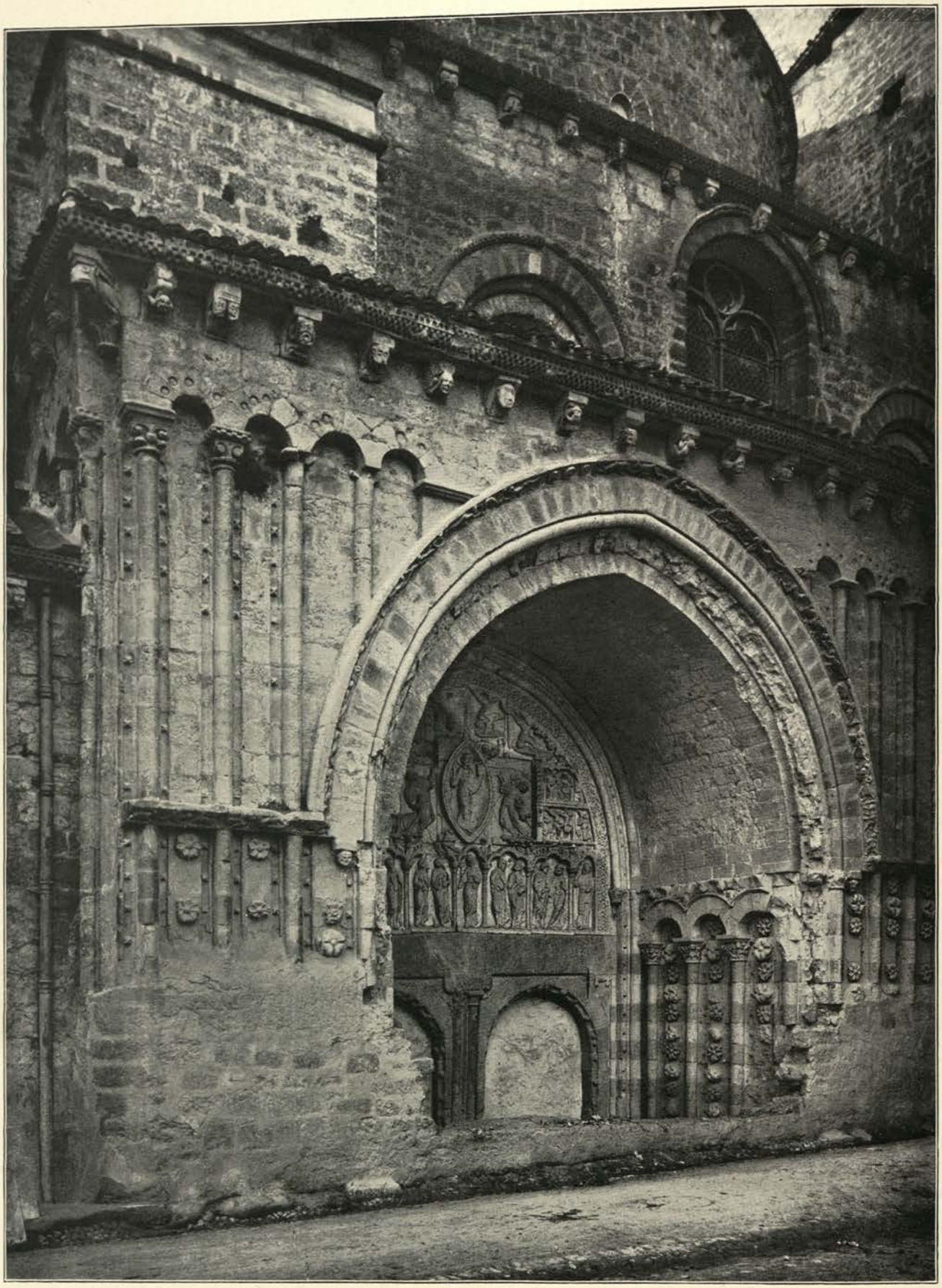
Quimperlé (Finistère). Sainte-Croix (about 1180), Interior, View from the West



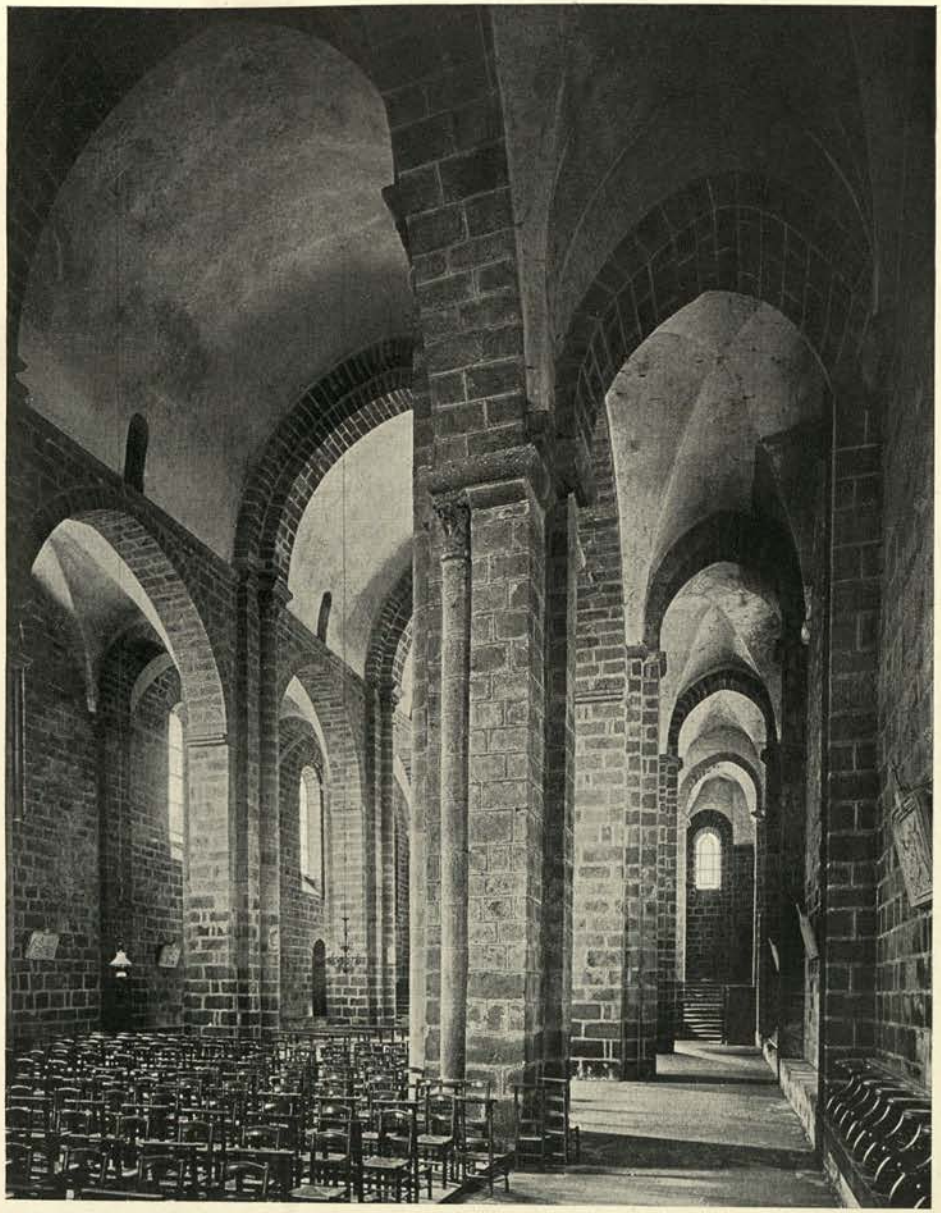
Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre (begun in 1105), Choir, View from the Entrance

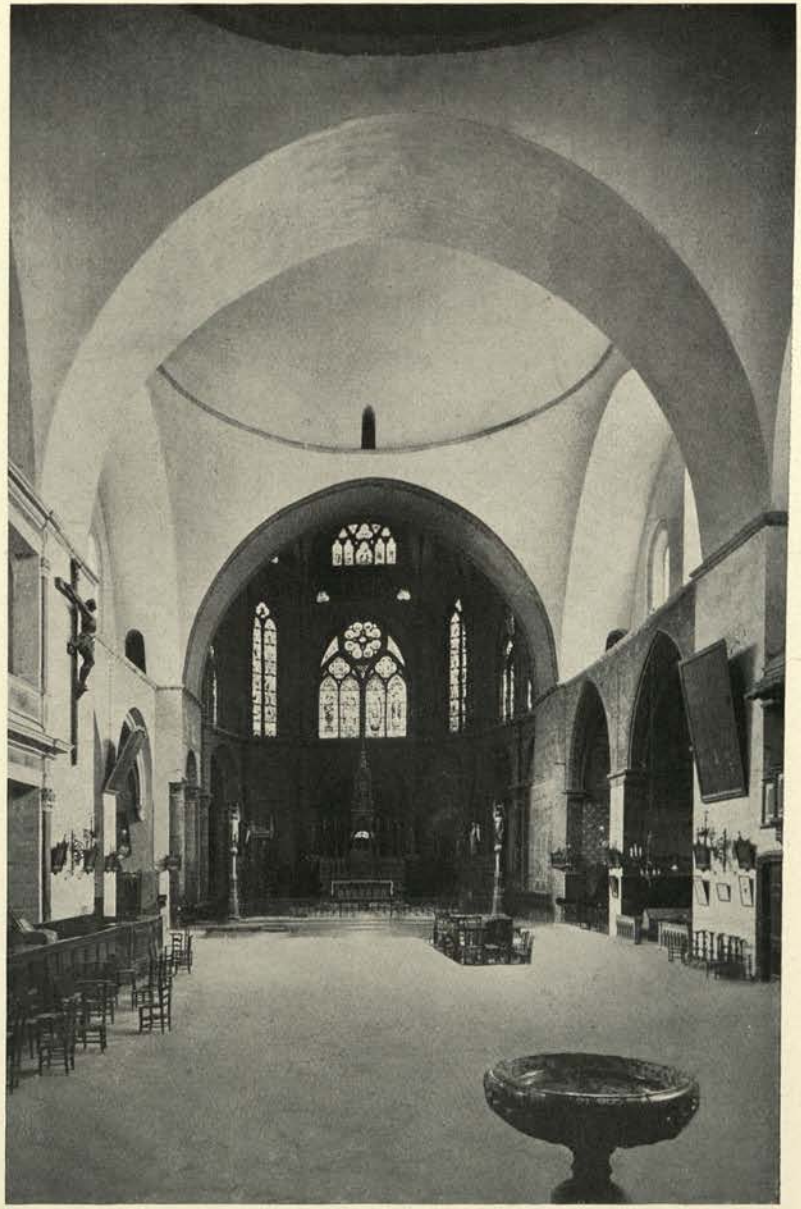
Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre (begun in 1105), Apse

Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre (begun in 1150), Interior, View from the Entrance



Cahors (Lot). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne (consecrated in 1119), Porch

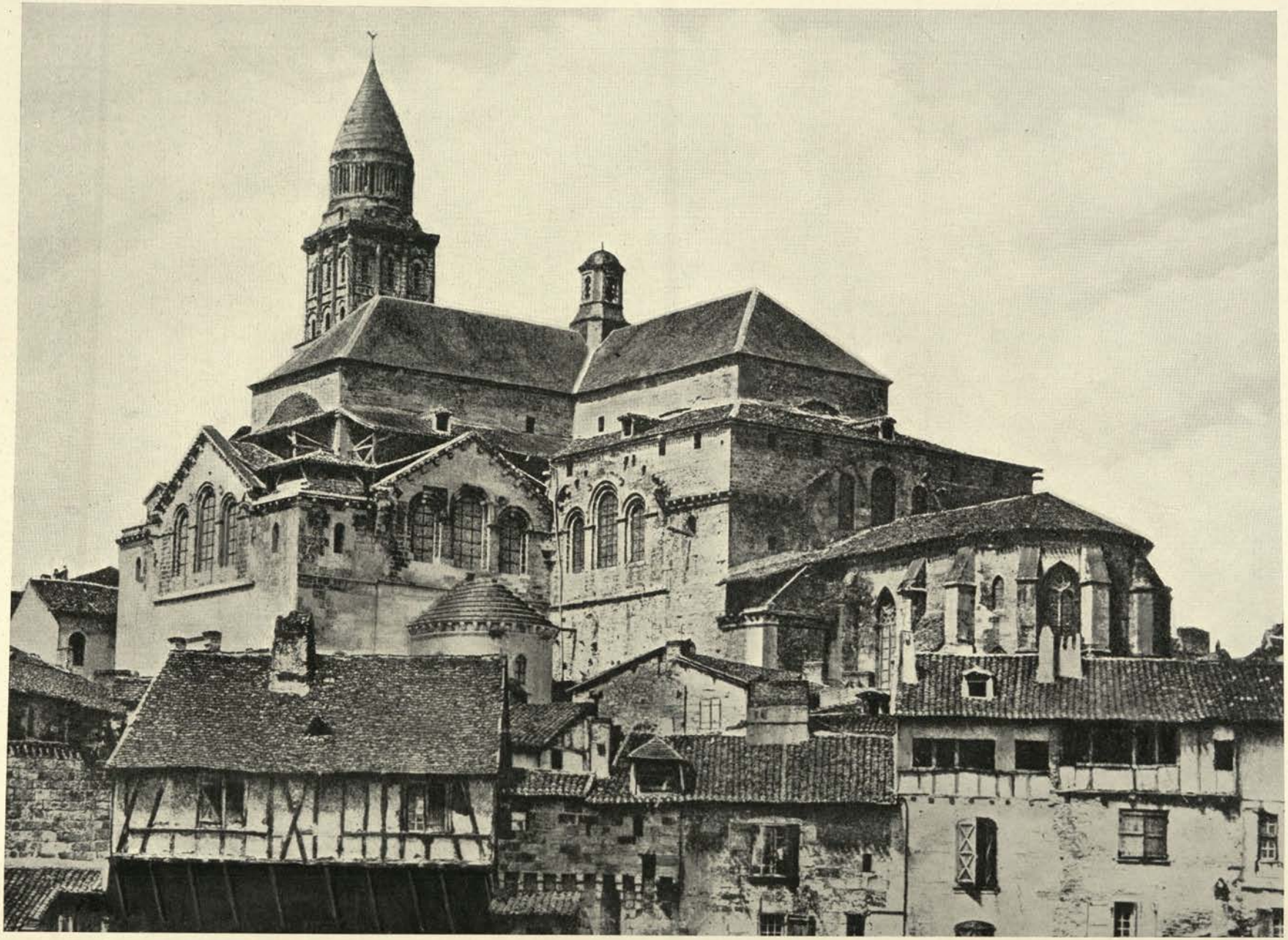




Le Dorat (Haute-Vienne). Church, Interior, View towards the Entrance. - Cahors (Lot). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne (consecrated in 1119), Interior, View from the Entrance

Périgueux (Dordogne). Cathedral of Saint-Front (after 1120), Nave, View from the West

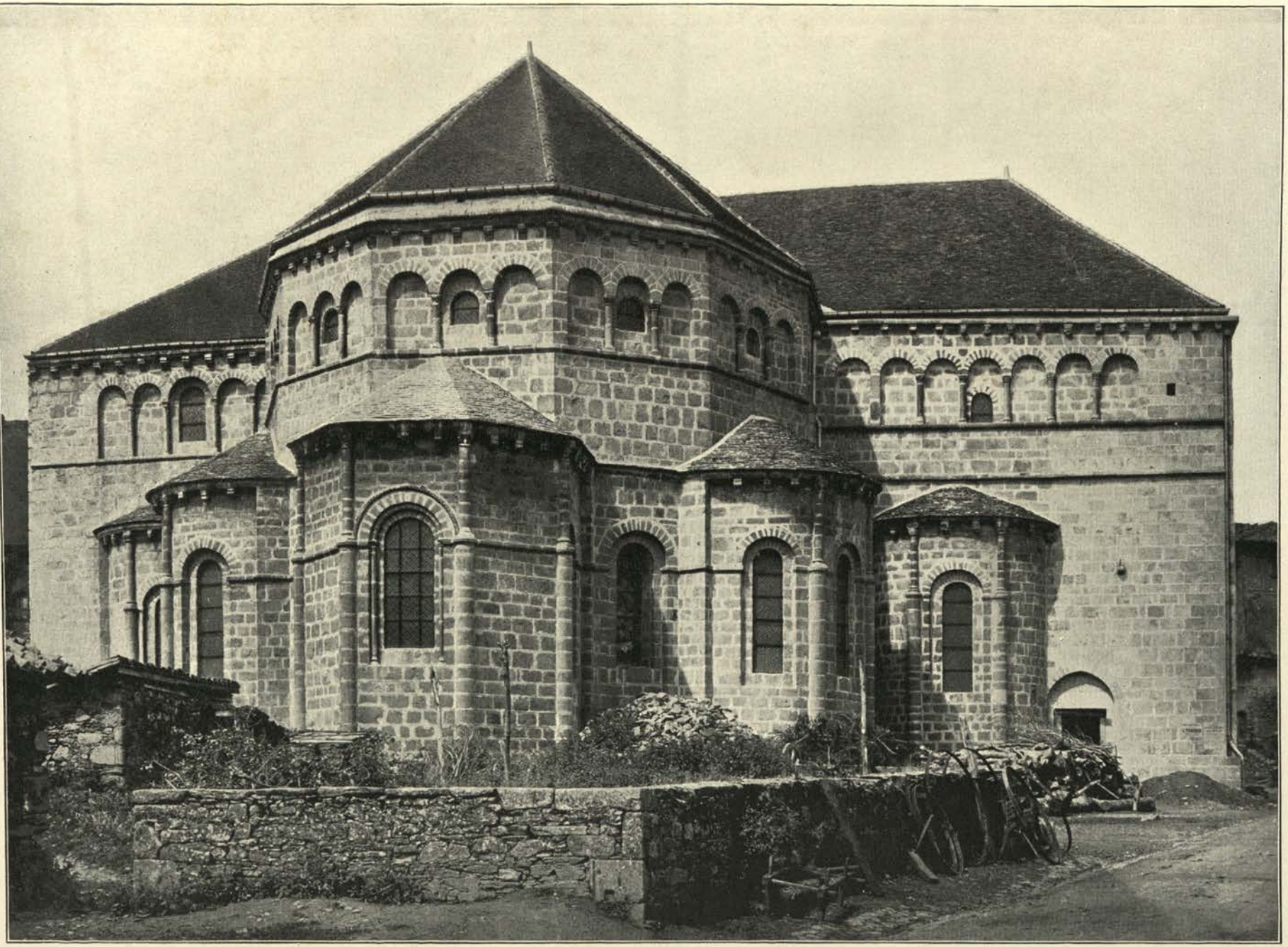
Périgueux (Dordogne). Cathedral of Saint-Front (after 1120), Choir, View towards the Entrance



Périgueux (Dordogne). Cathedral of Saint-Front (after 1120), View of the East End (Before the Restoration)

Périgueux (Dordogne). Saint-Étienne (about 1110, East Side about 1150), View from South-East

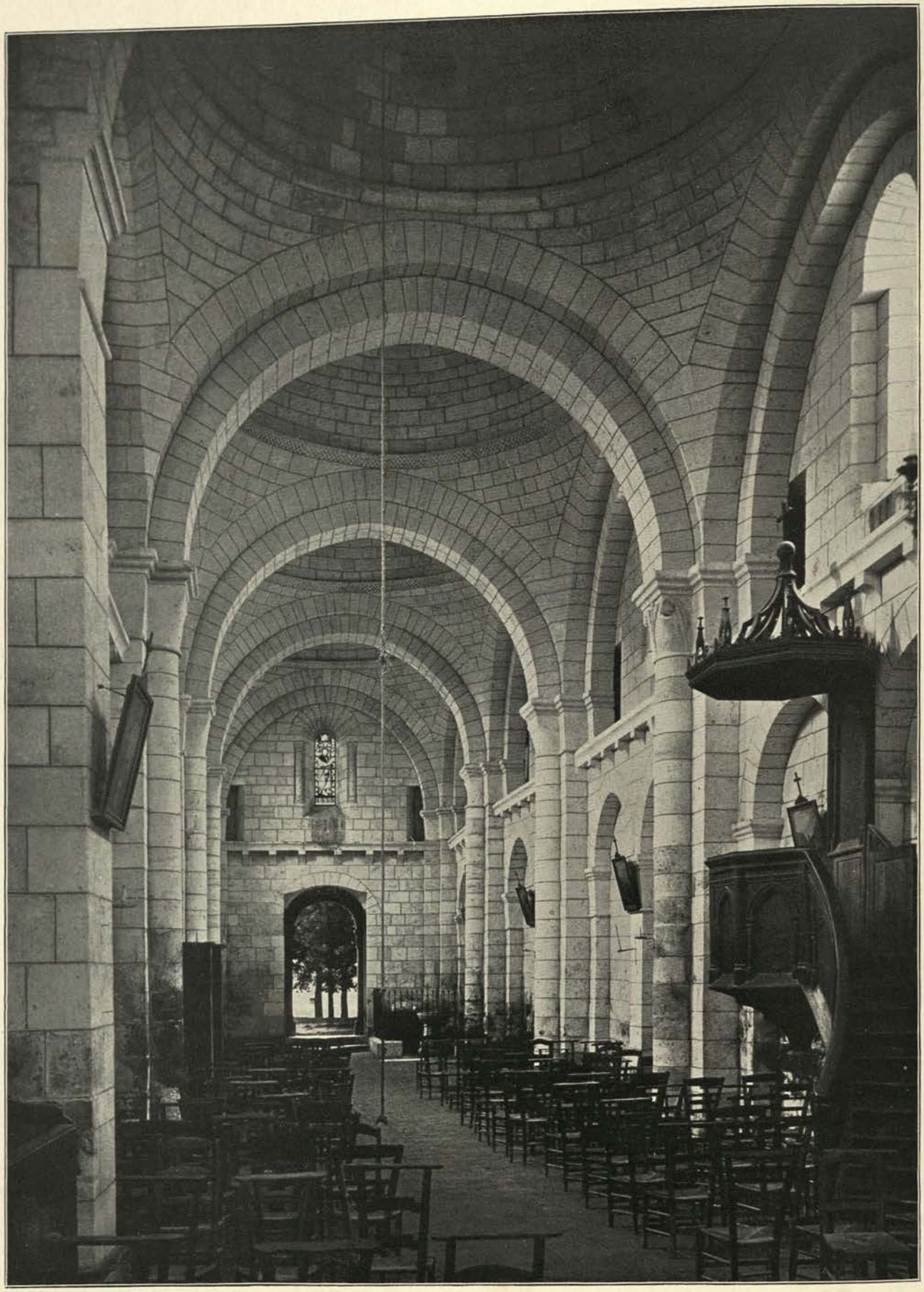
Périgueux (Dordogne). Saint-Étienne (about 1110, East Side about 1150) from North-East



Solignac (Haute-Vienne). Church, Apse

Solignac (Haute-Vienne). Church (consecrated in 1143), North Transept, Interior

Souillac (Lot). Church, Apse, View from North-East



Gensac (Charente). Church, Nave, View from the East

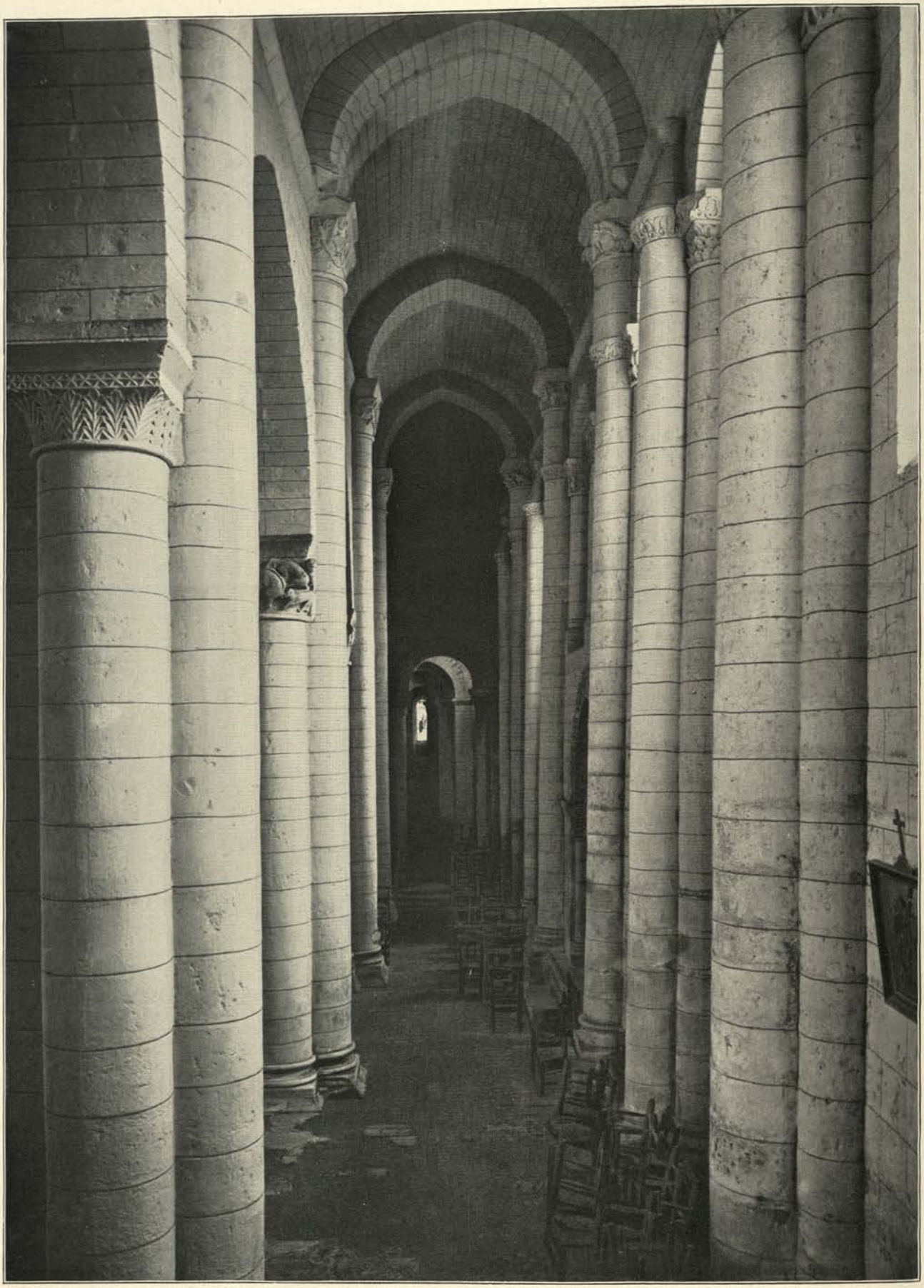
Poitiers (Vienne). Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand (consecrated in 1049, rebuilt about 1130), Nave, View from the Chancel

Digne (Basses-Alpes). Notre-Dame, Nave, View from the Entrance

Saint-Savin (Vienne). Church, Interior, View from the Entrance

Bussière-Badil (Dordogne). Church, Nave, View towards the Entrance

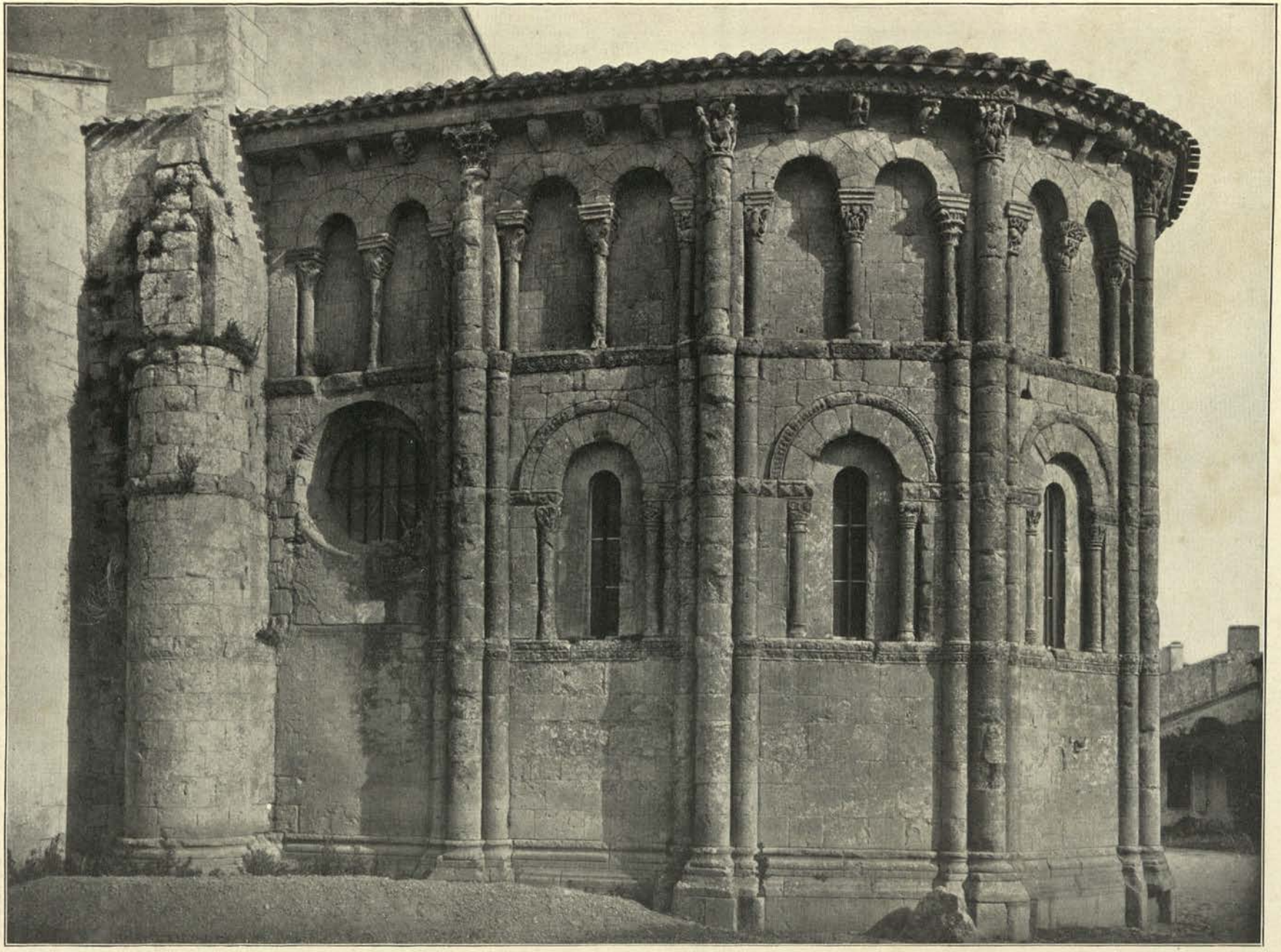
Preuilly (Indre-et-Loire). Church, Nave, View from the Entrance



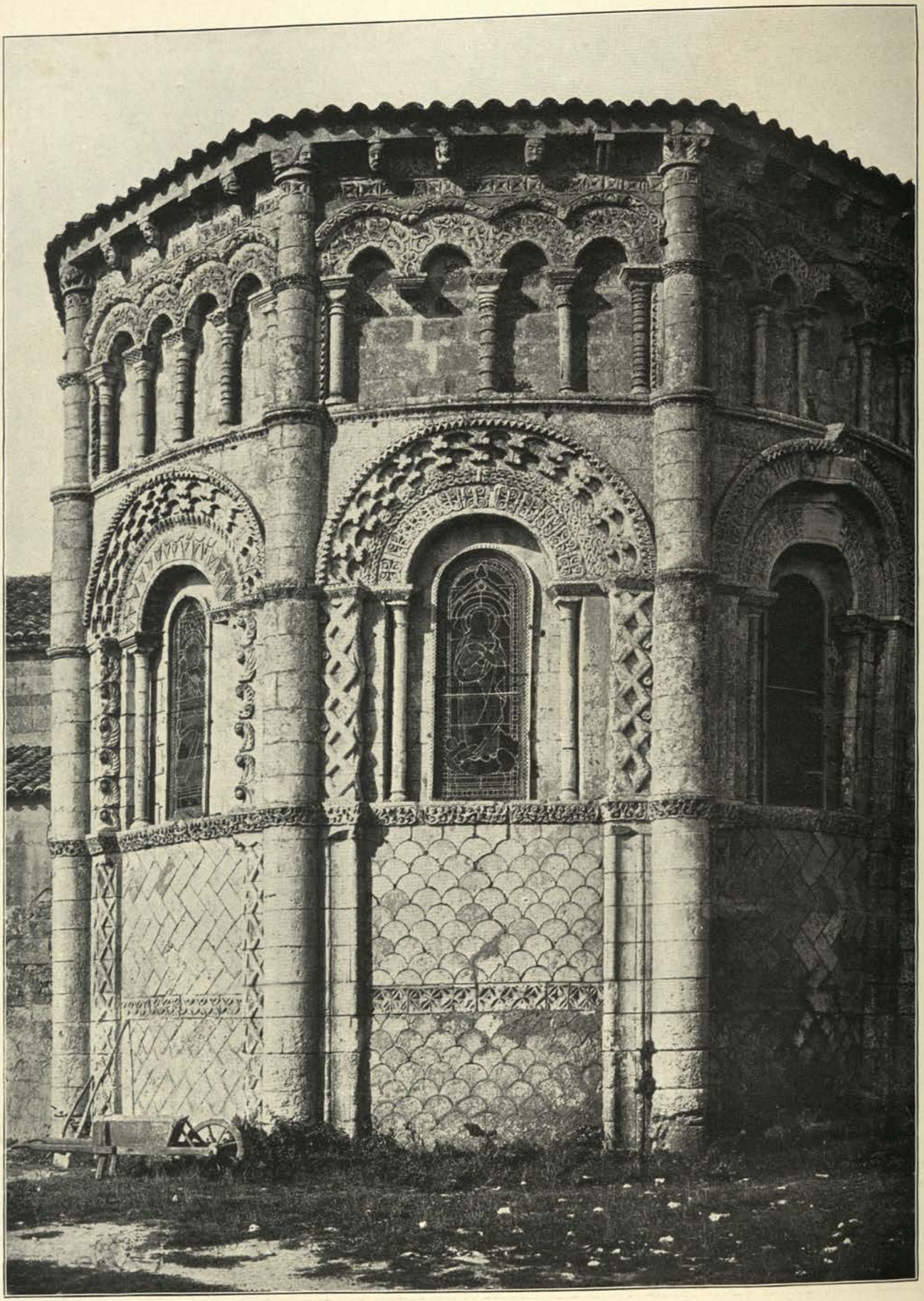
Melle (Deux-Sèvres). Saint-Hilaire, Side aisle, South

Léoncel (Drôme). Church, South Side-aisle

Airvault (Deux-Sèvres). Saint-Pierre, West Portal

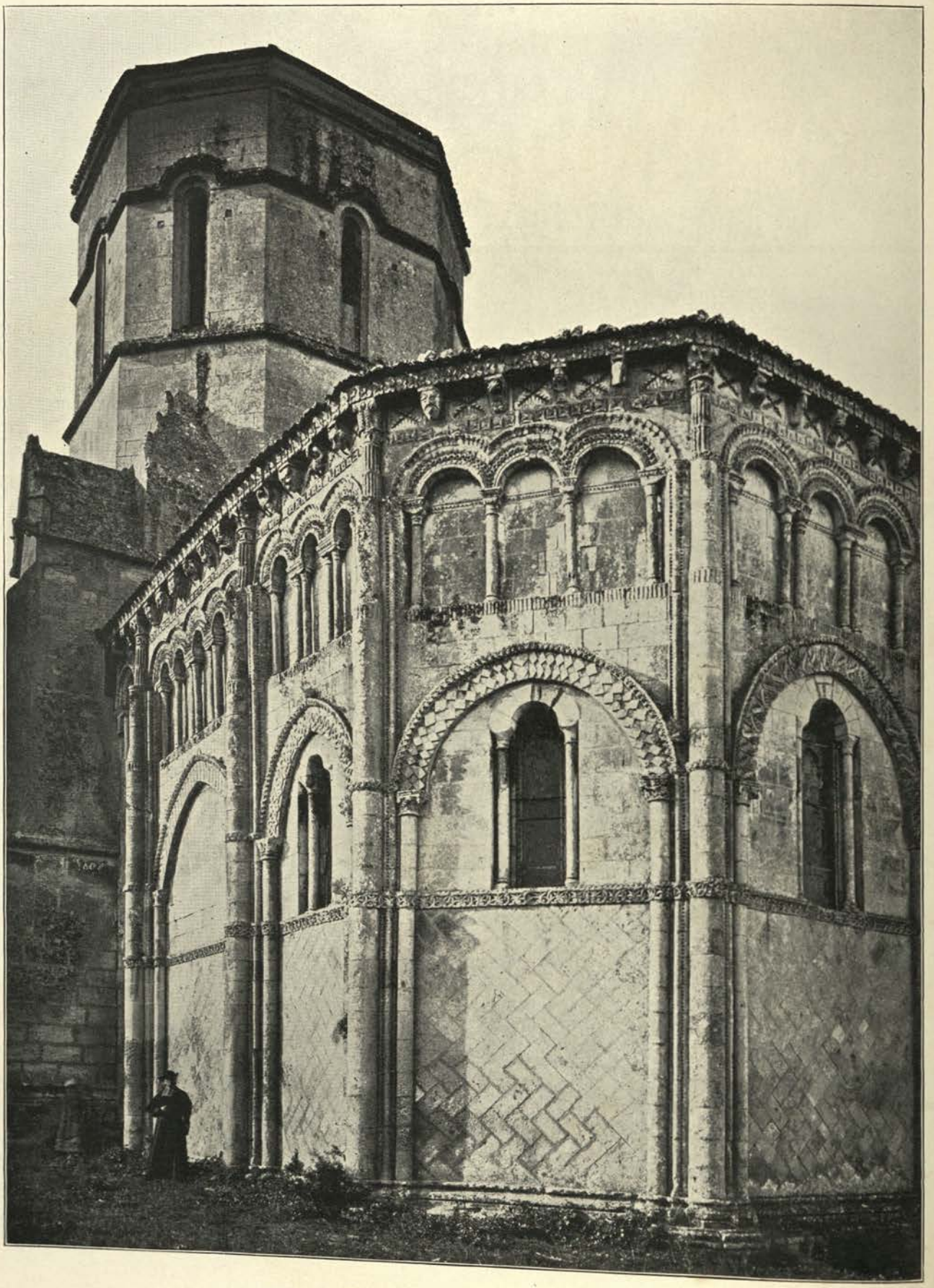


Begadan (Gironde). Church, Apse

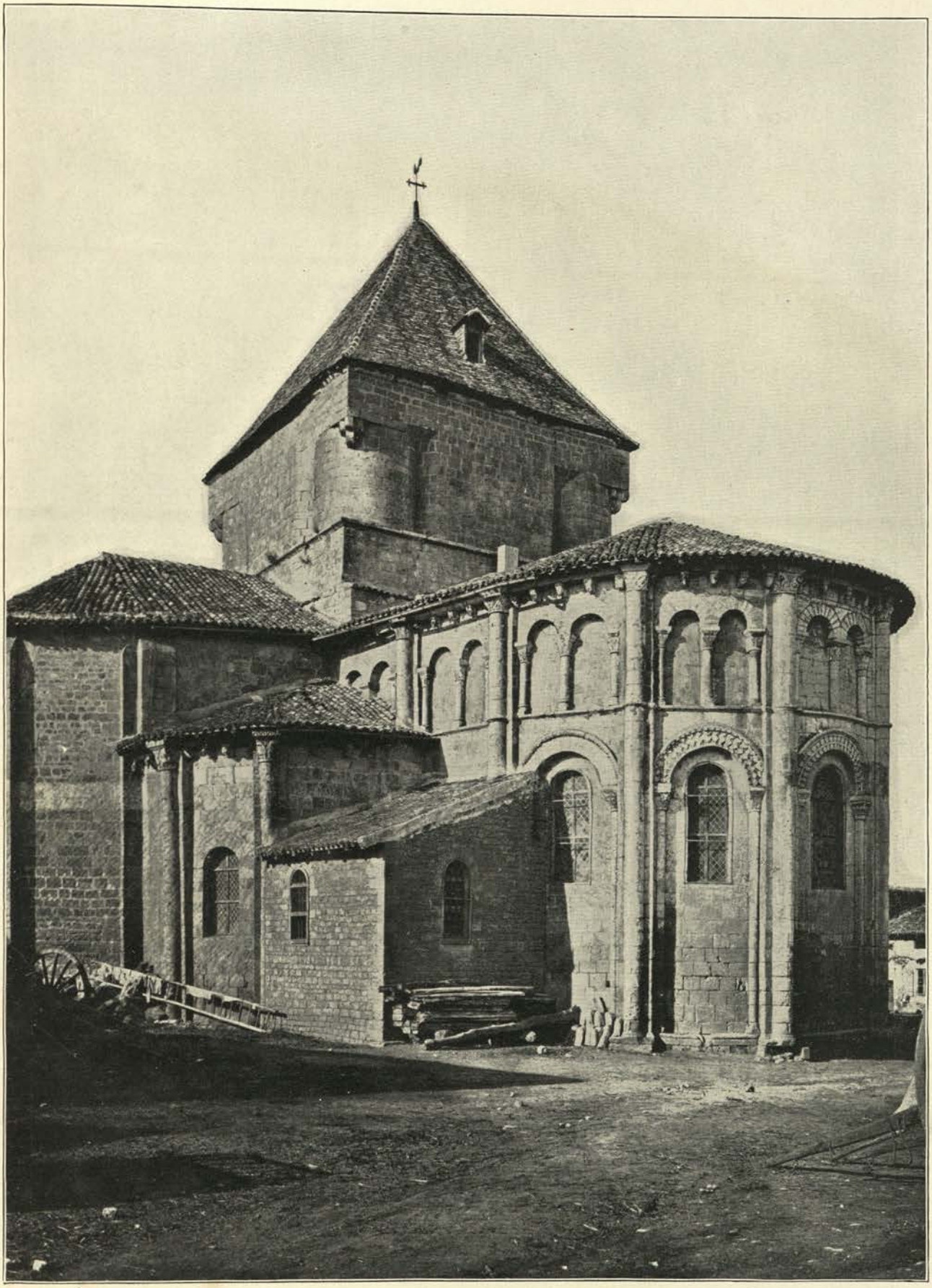


Rioux (Charente-Inférieure). Churdh, Apse

Écoyeux (Charente-Inférieure). Church, Apse, South end

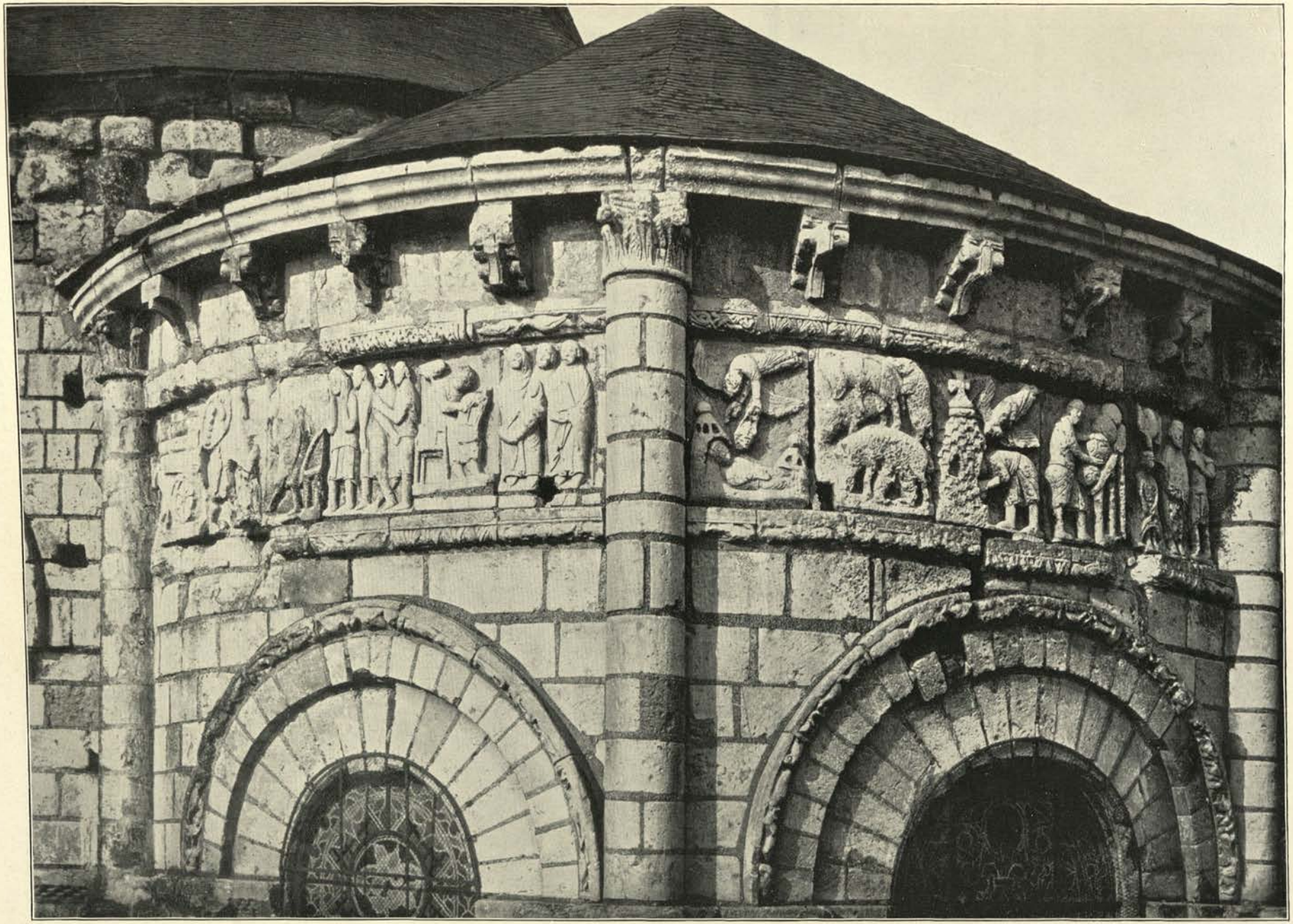


Rétaud (Charente-Inférieure). Church, Apse



Saint-Maurice (Vienne). Church, Apse

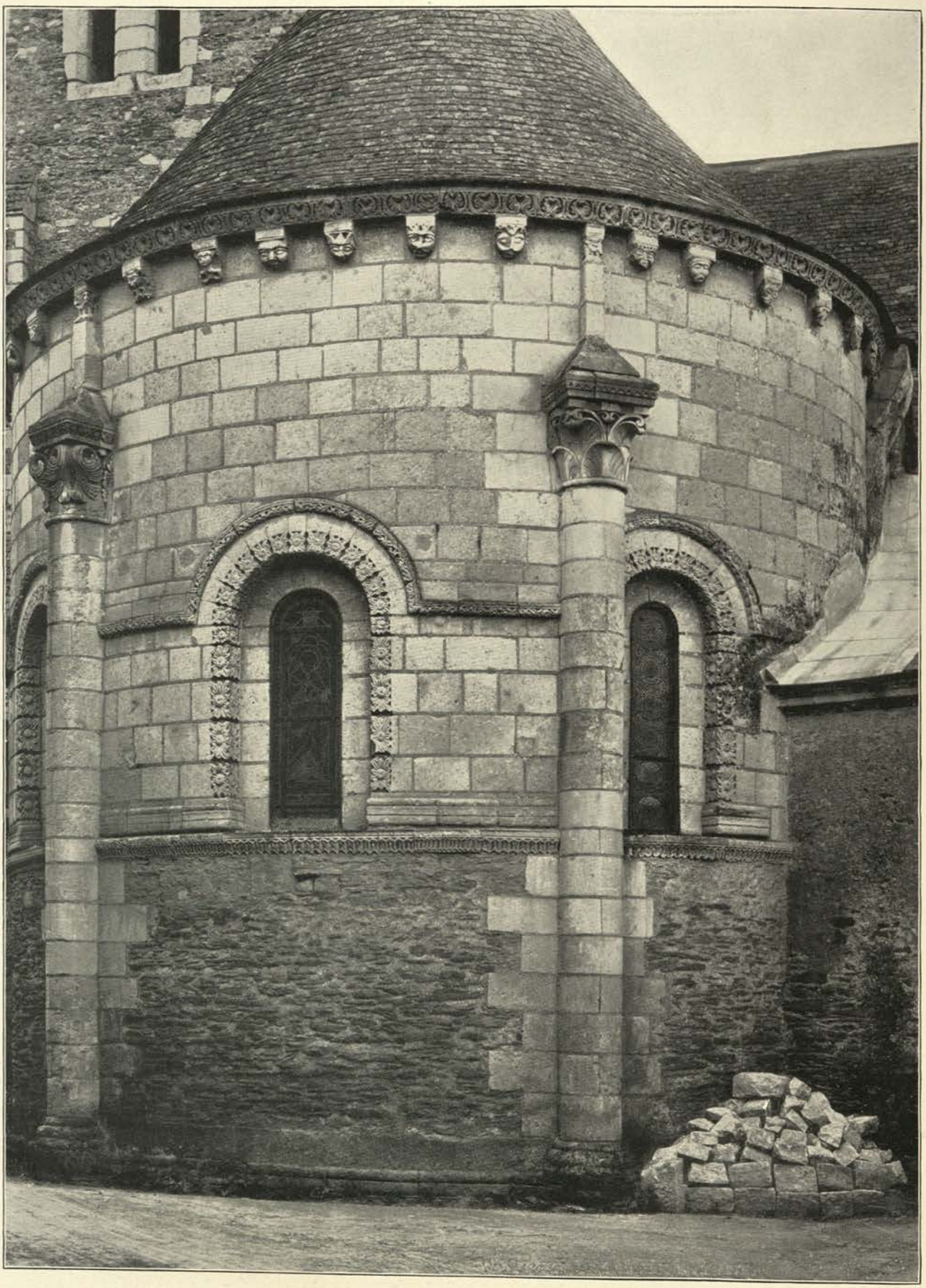
Cunault (Maine-et-Loire). Church, Apse



Selles-sur-Cher (Loir-et-Cher). Church, Upper Part of the Apse

Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Pierre, Window of the Apse

Agen (Lot-et-Garonne). Cathedral of Saint-Caprais, Apse

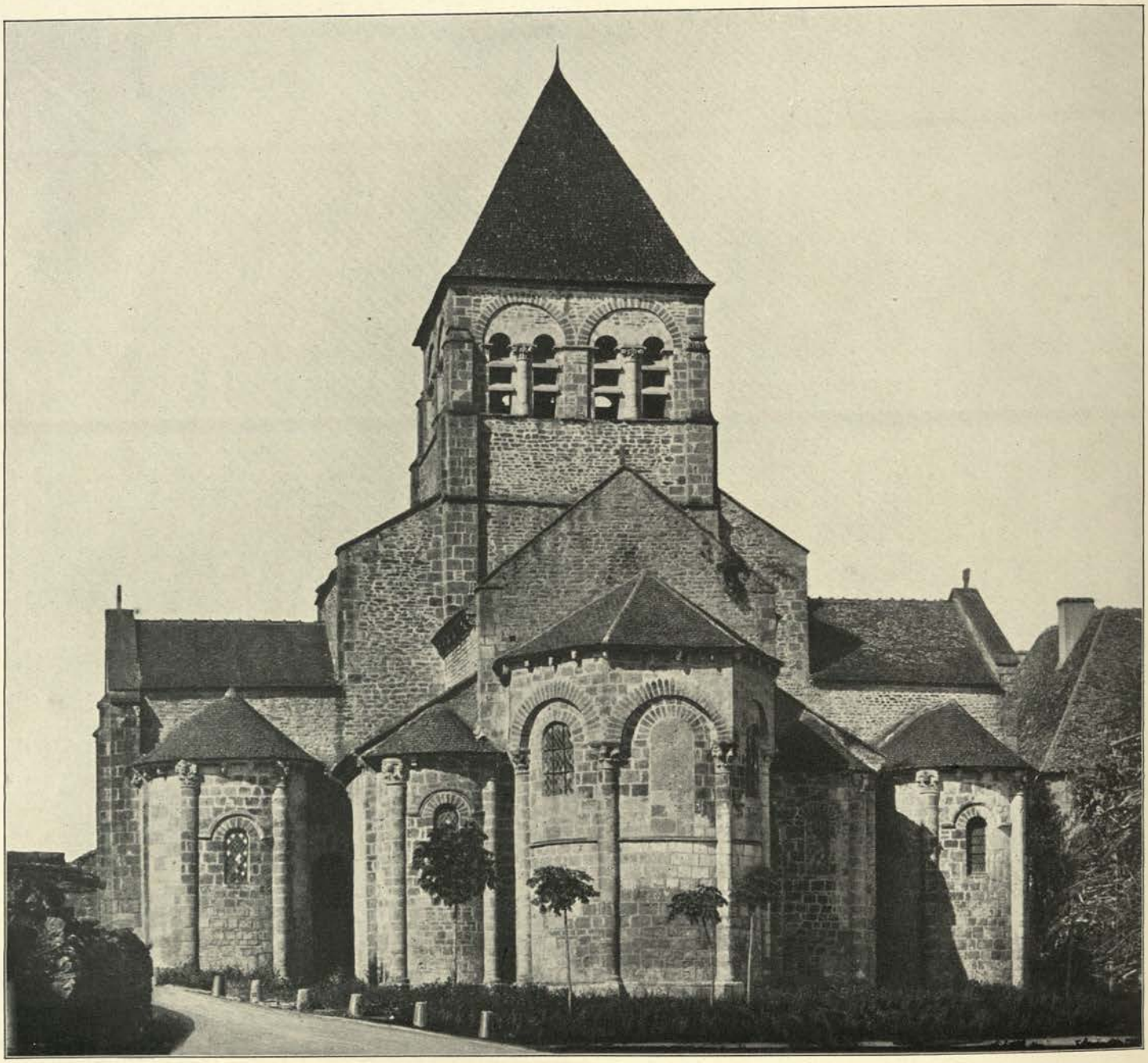


Savennières (Maine-et-Loire). Church, Apse

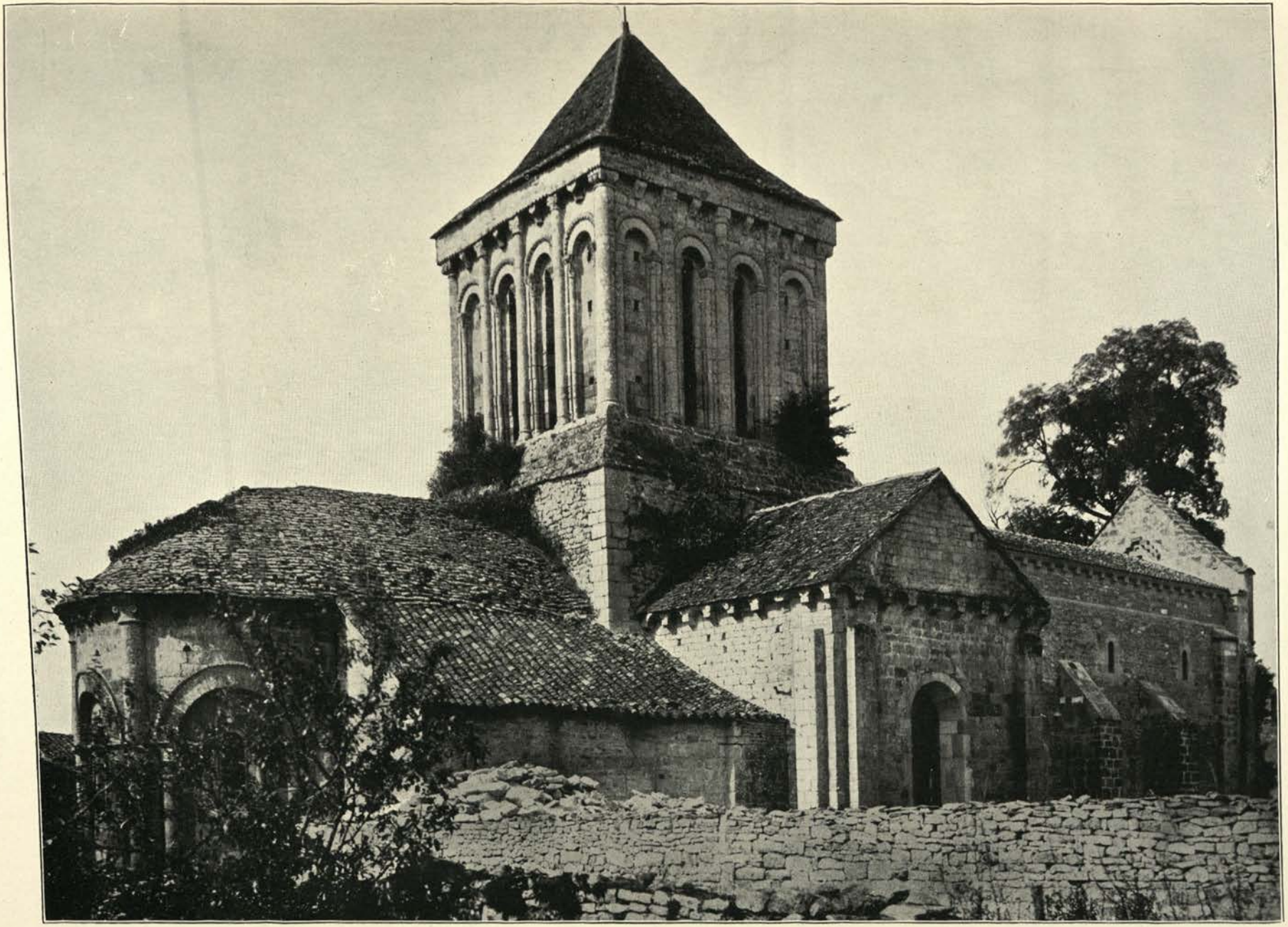
Poitiers (Vienne). Saint-Hilaire-le-Grand (1049, rebuilt about 1130), Apse, View from South-East

Chauvigny (Vienne). Saint-Pierre, Apse

Vouvant (Vendée). North end of the Church

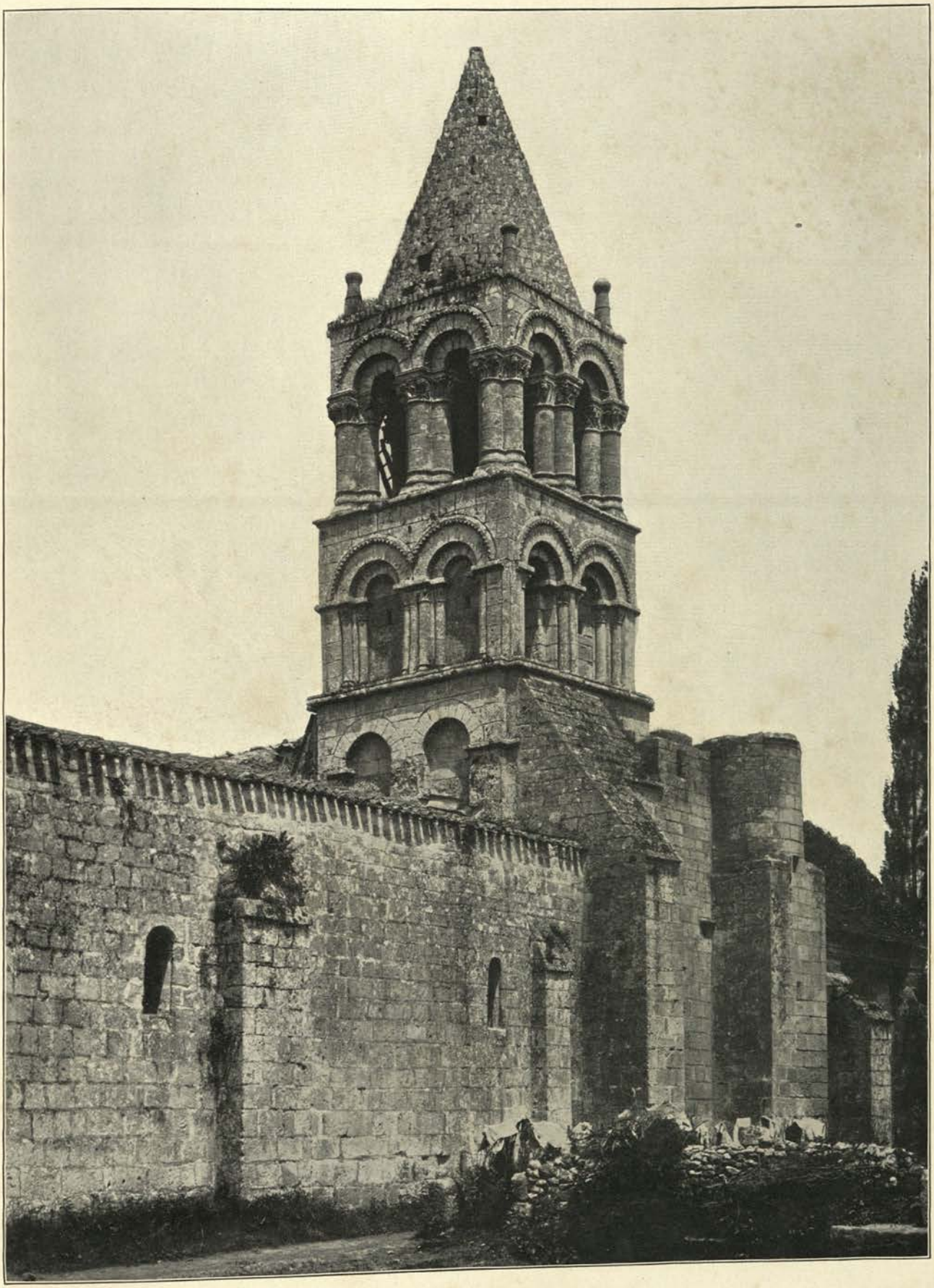


La Celle-Bruère (Cher). East end of the Church

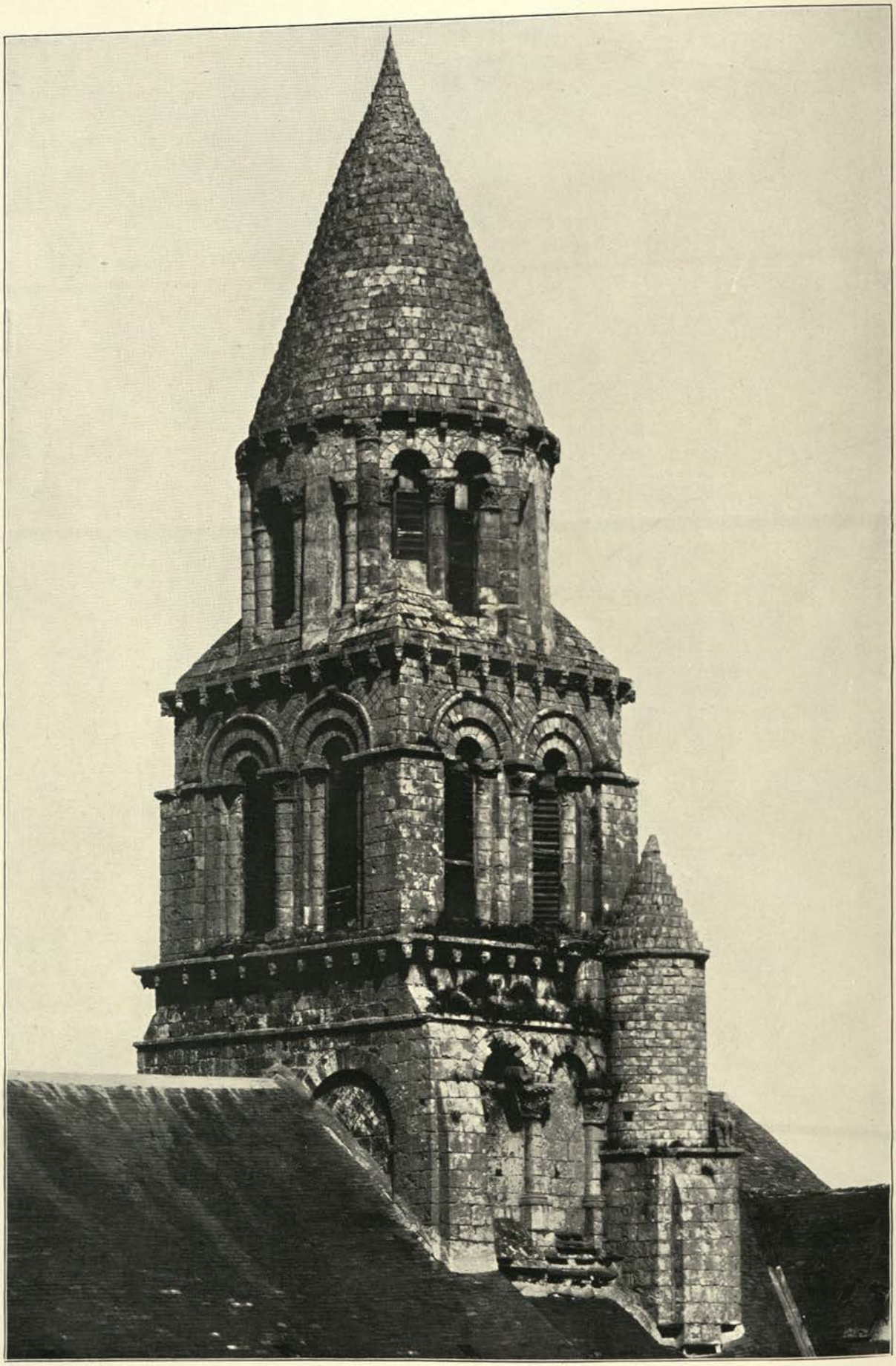


Courcôme (Charente). Church, North Front

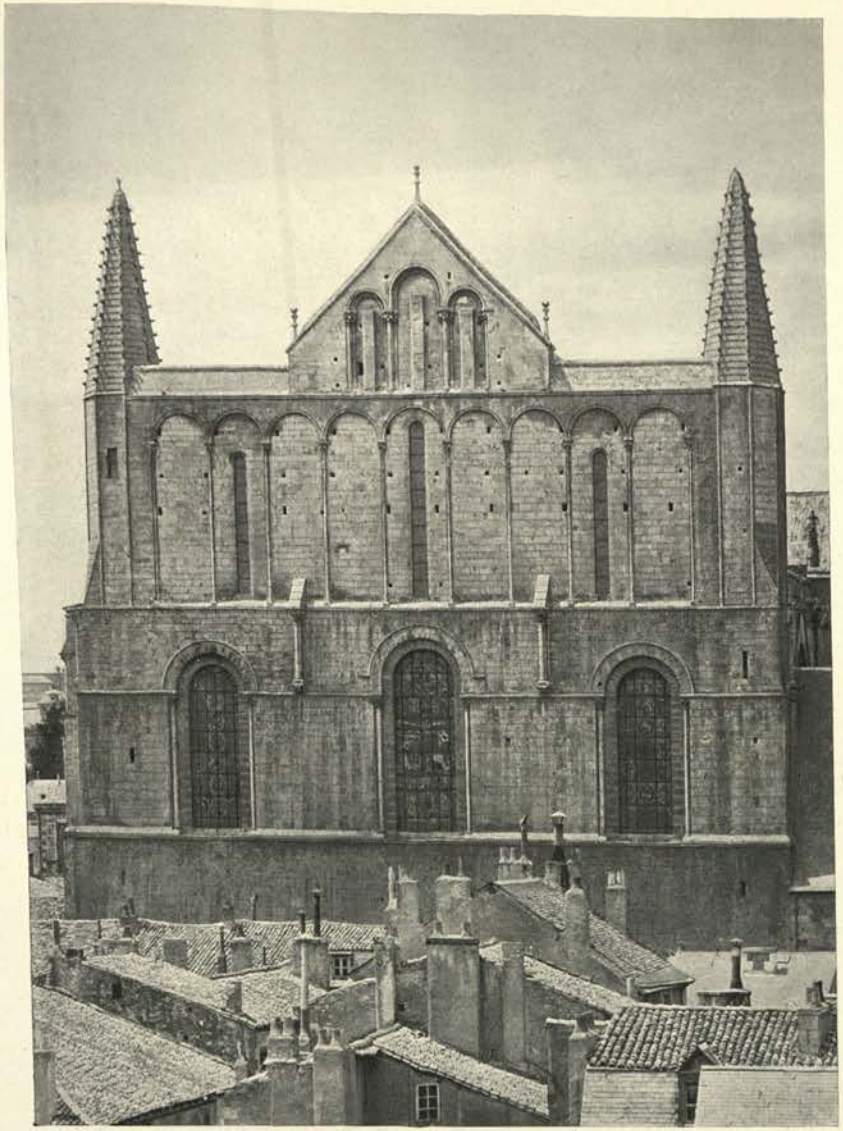
Montmoreau (Charente). Church from North-West



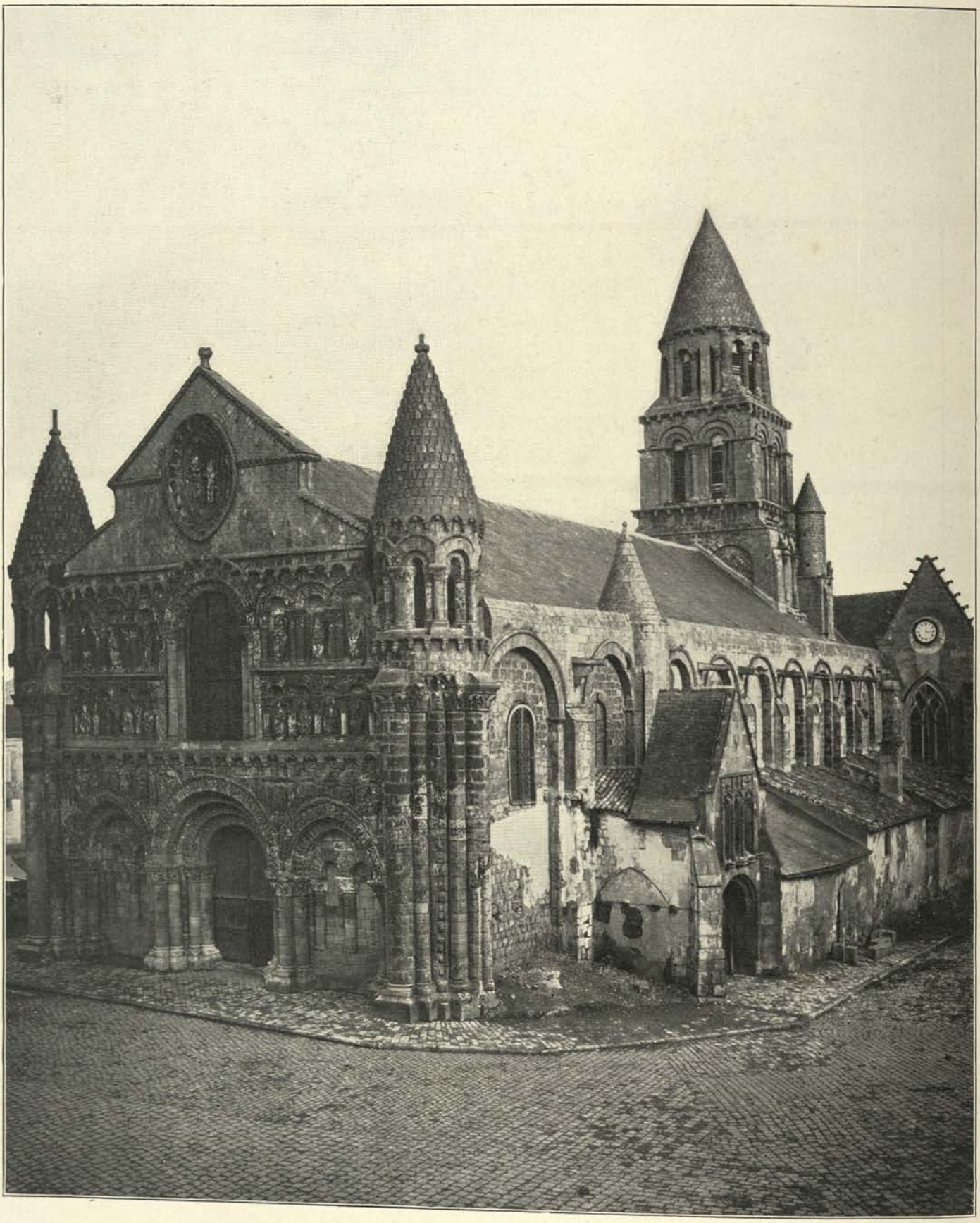
Trois-Palis (Charente). Church, Tower from South-West



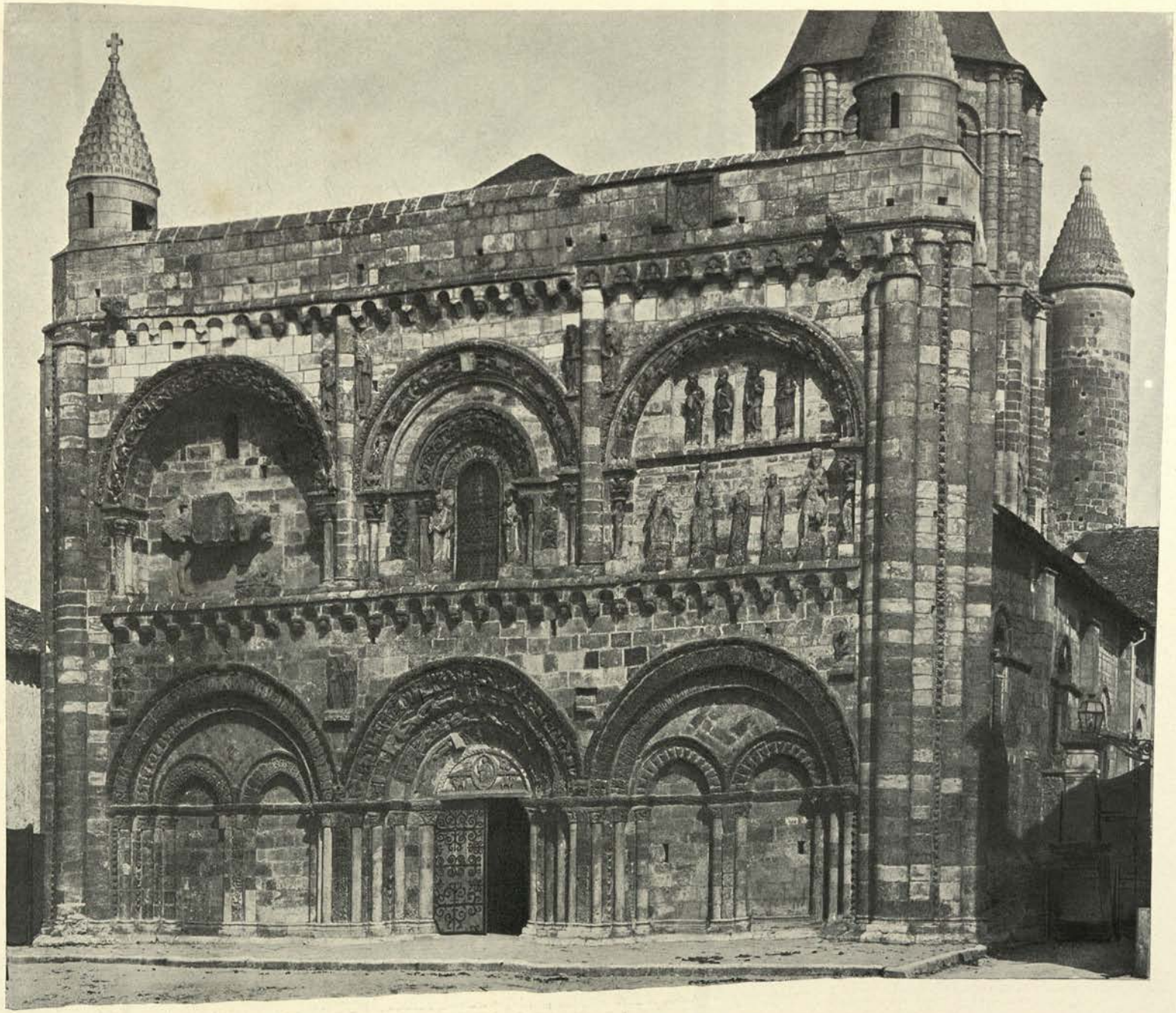
Poitiers (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Tower



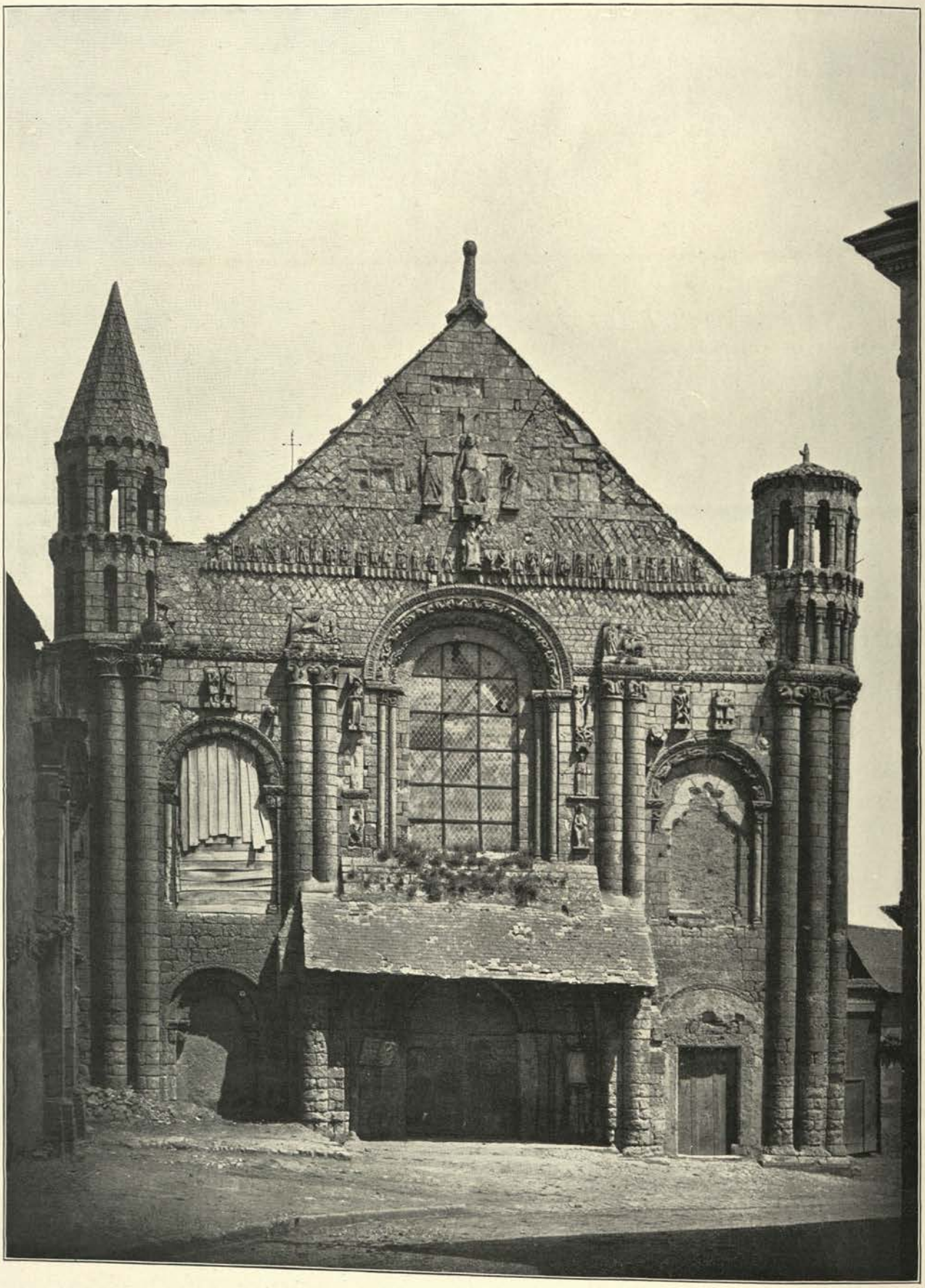
Poitiers (Vienne). Saint-Pierre, View from the East. - Poitiers (Vienne). Sainte-Radegonde, Interior of the Sacristy



Poitiers (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande (about 1100, Façade after 1143), View from South-East

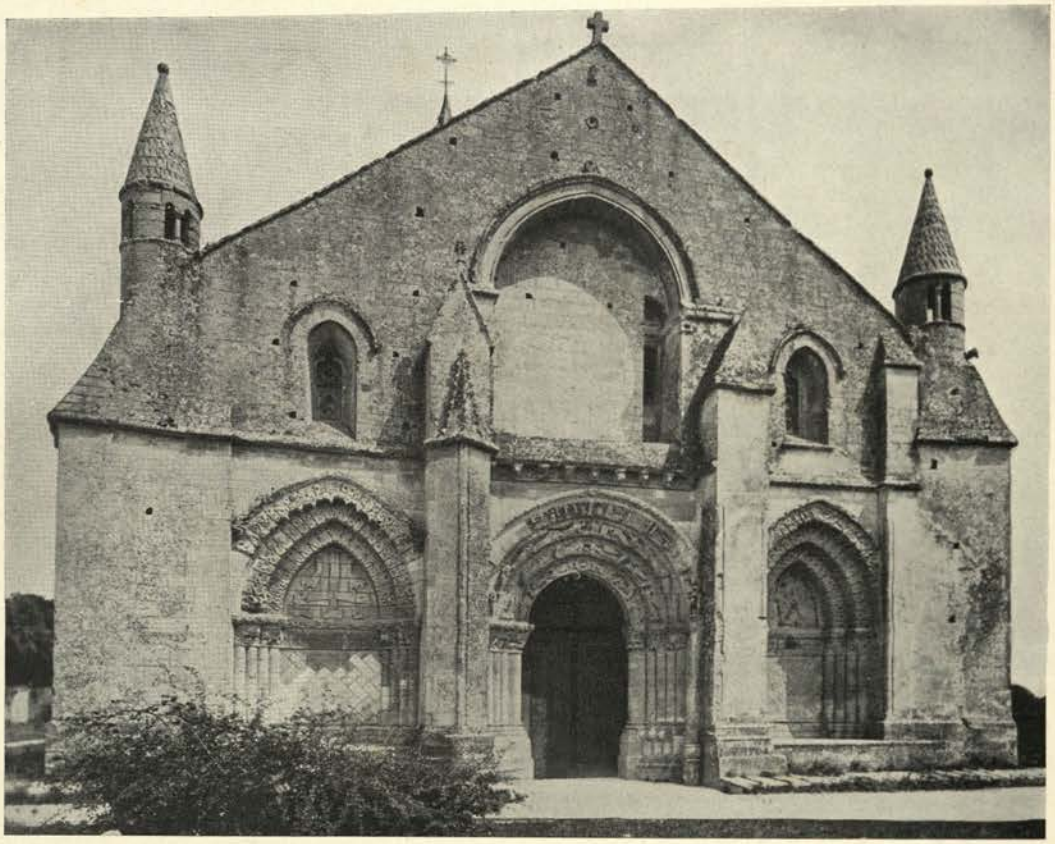


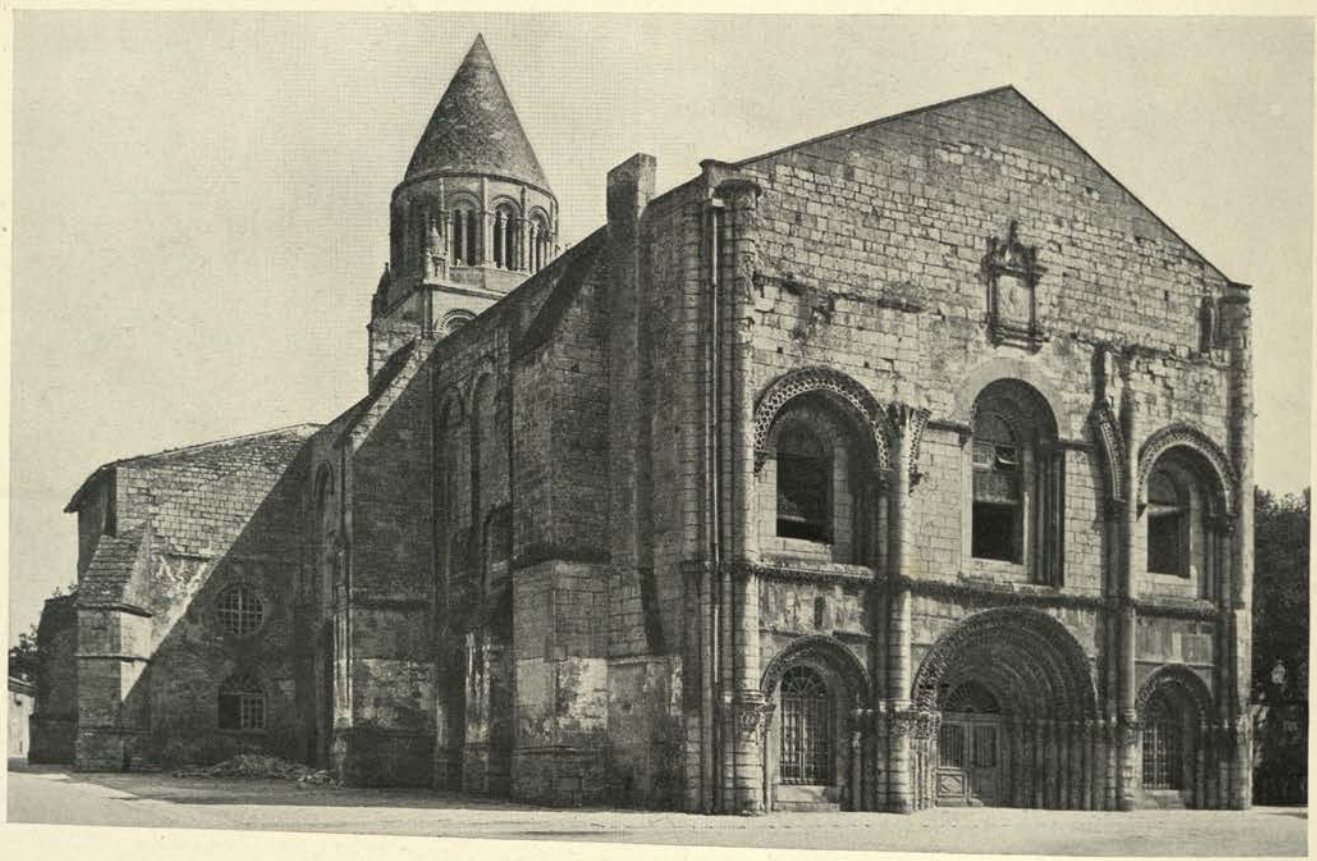
Civray (Vienne). Church, West Front



Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes (Deux-Sèvres). Church, West Front

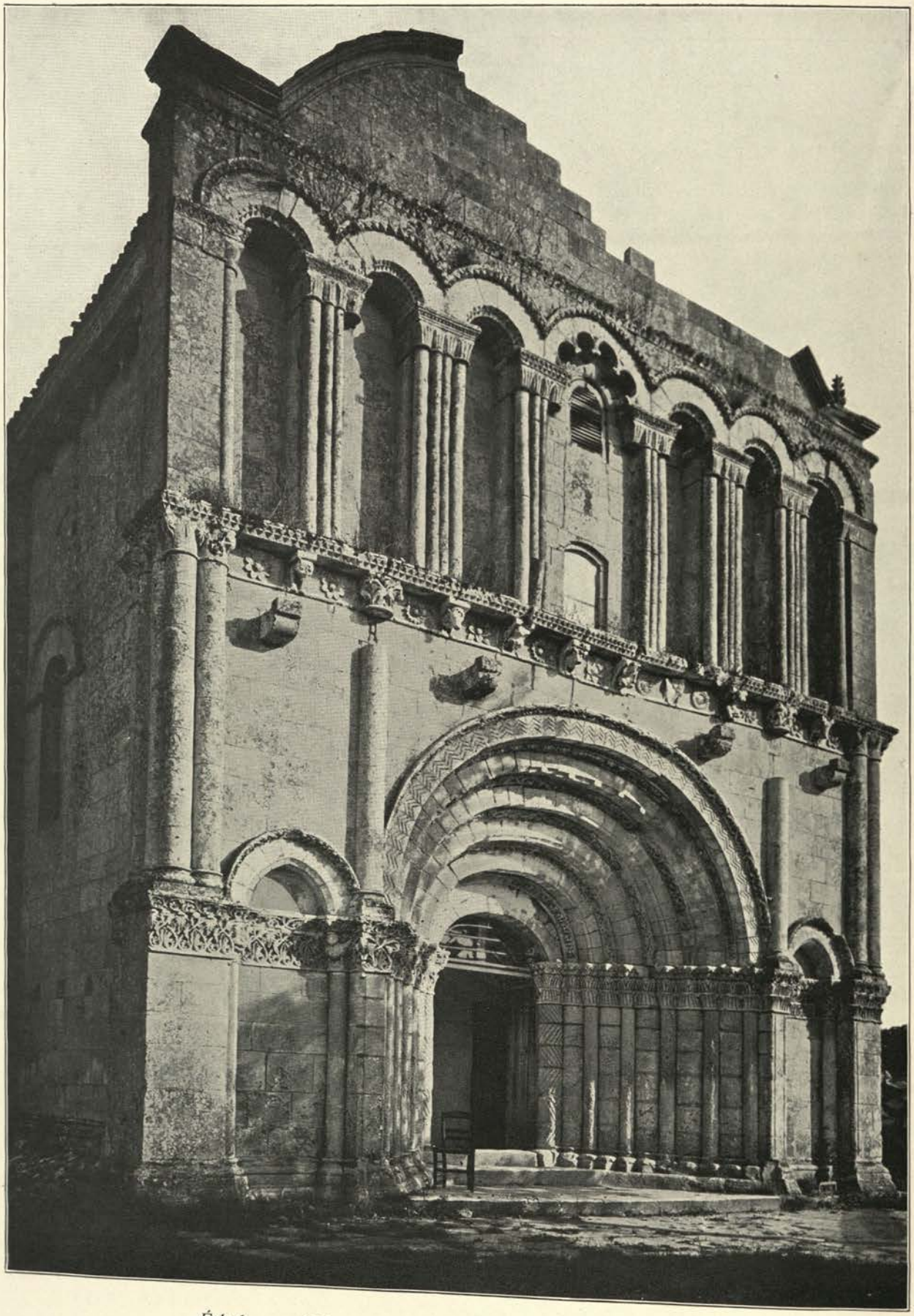
Bordeaux (Gironde). Sainte-Croix, West Front



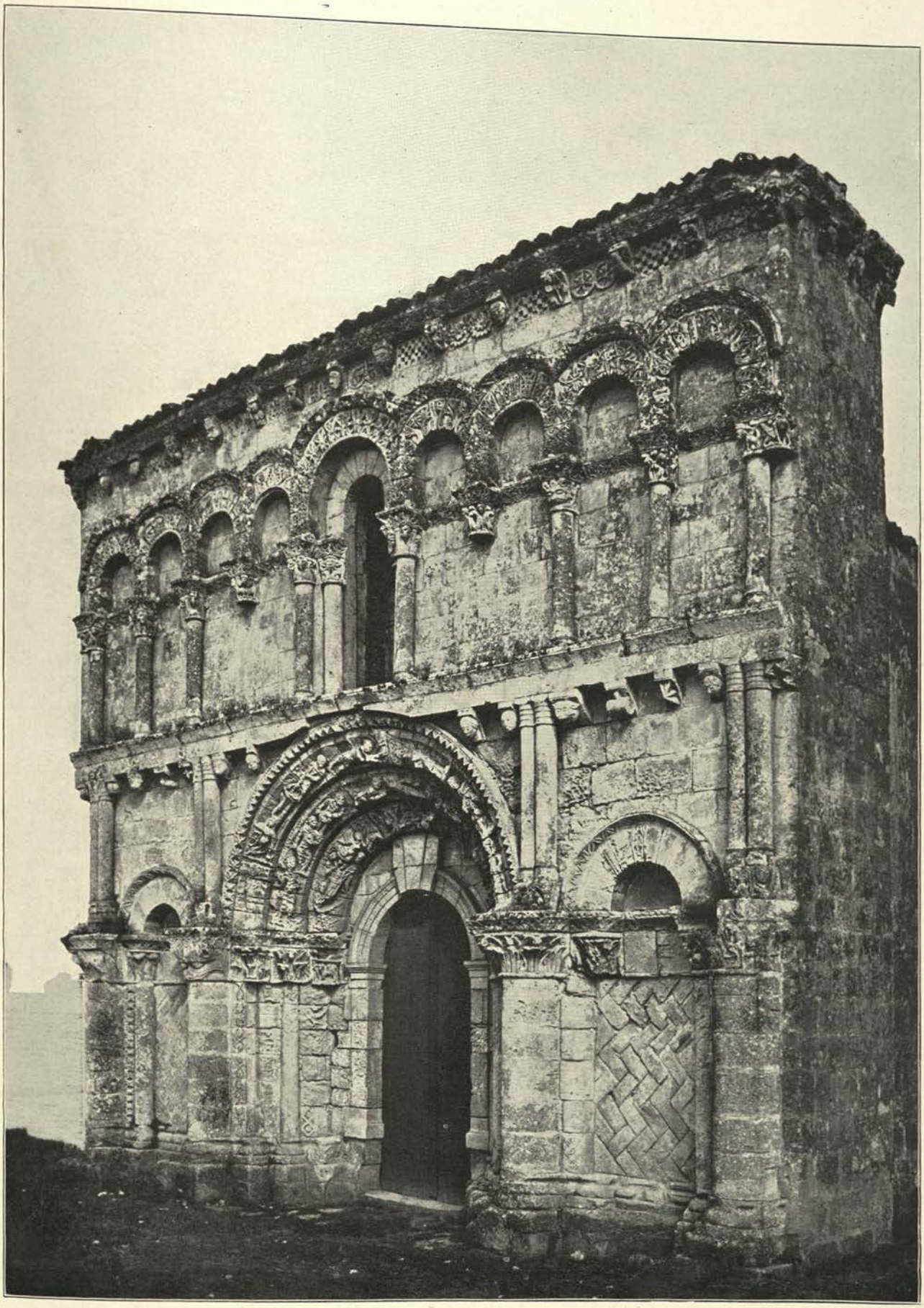


Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Pierre, West Front. - Saintes (Charente-Inférieure). Sainte-Marie-des-Dames

Ruffec (Charente). Church, West Front, upper part



Échebrune (Charente-Inférieure). Church, West Front



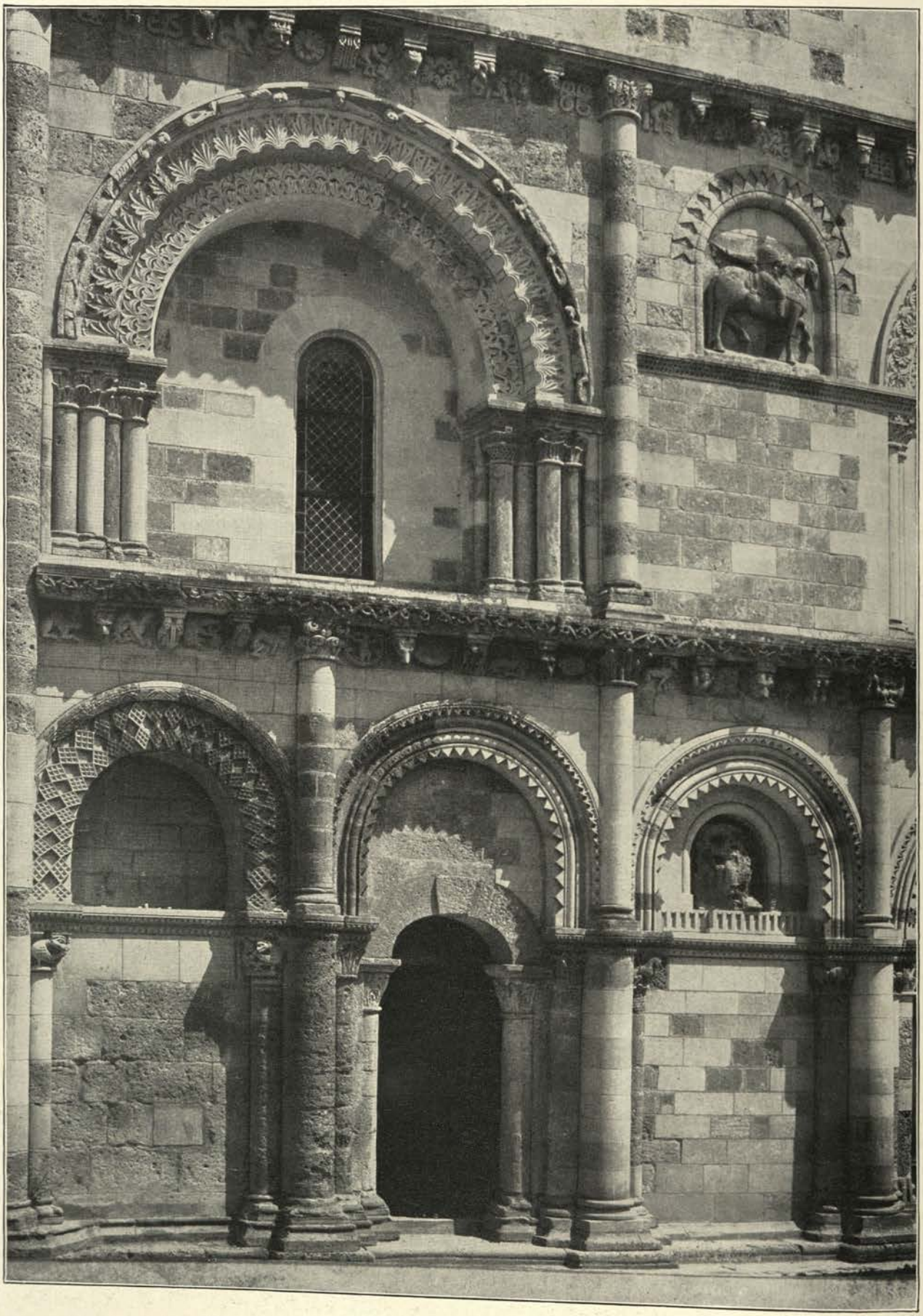
Échillais (Charente-Inférieure). Church, West Front

Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, West Front (finished about 1170)

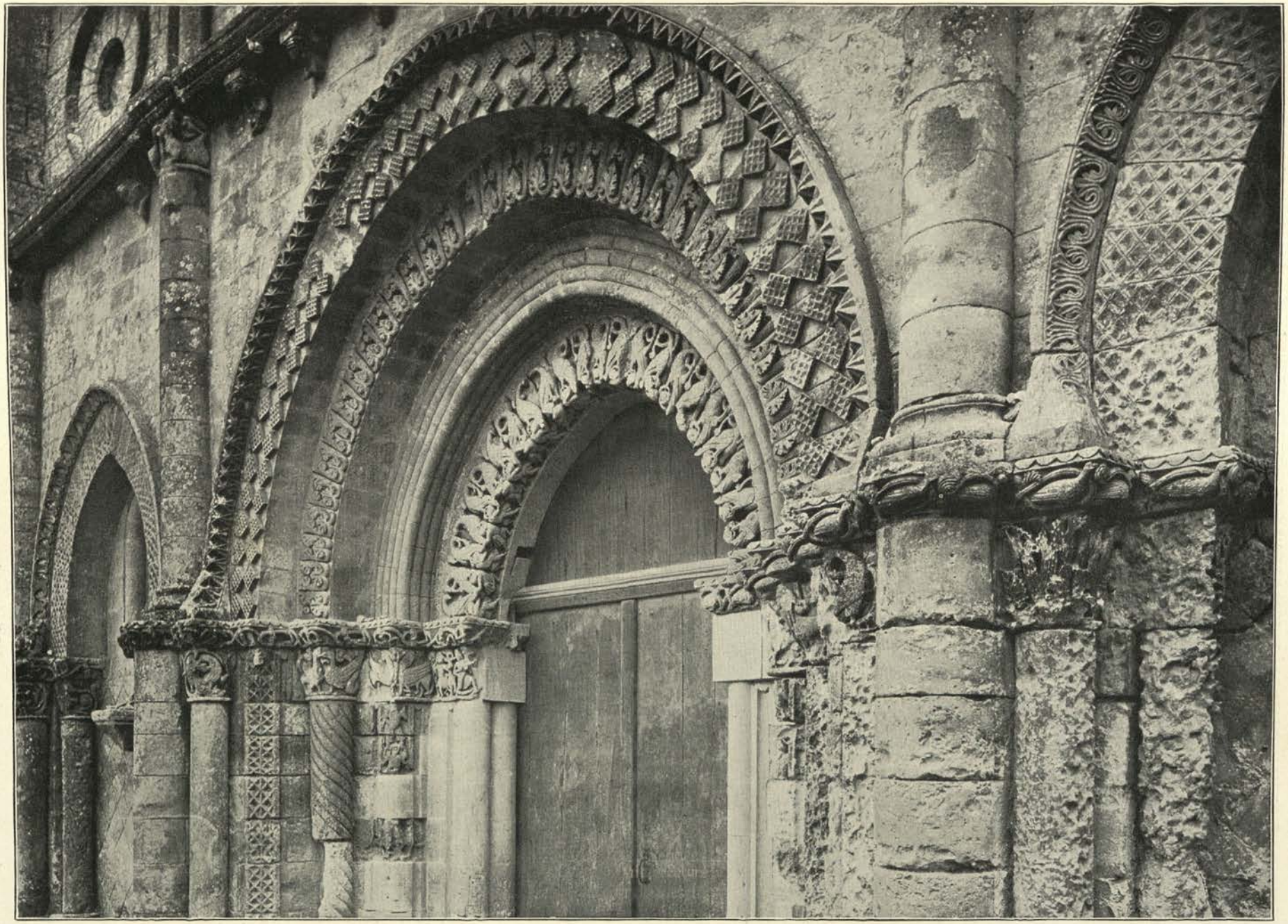
Gensac (Charente). Saint-Martin, View from South-West

Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Pierre, South Front of the Transept

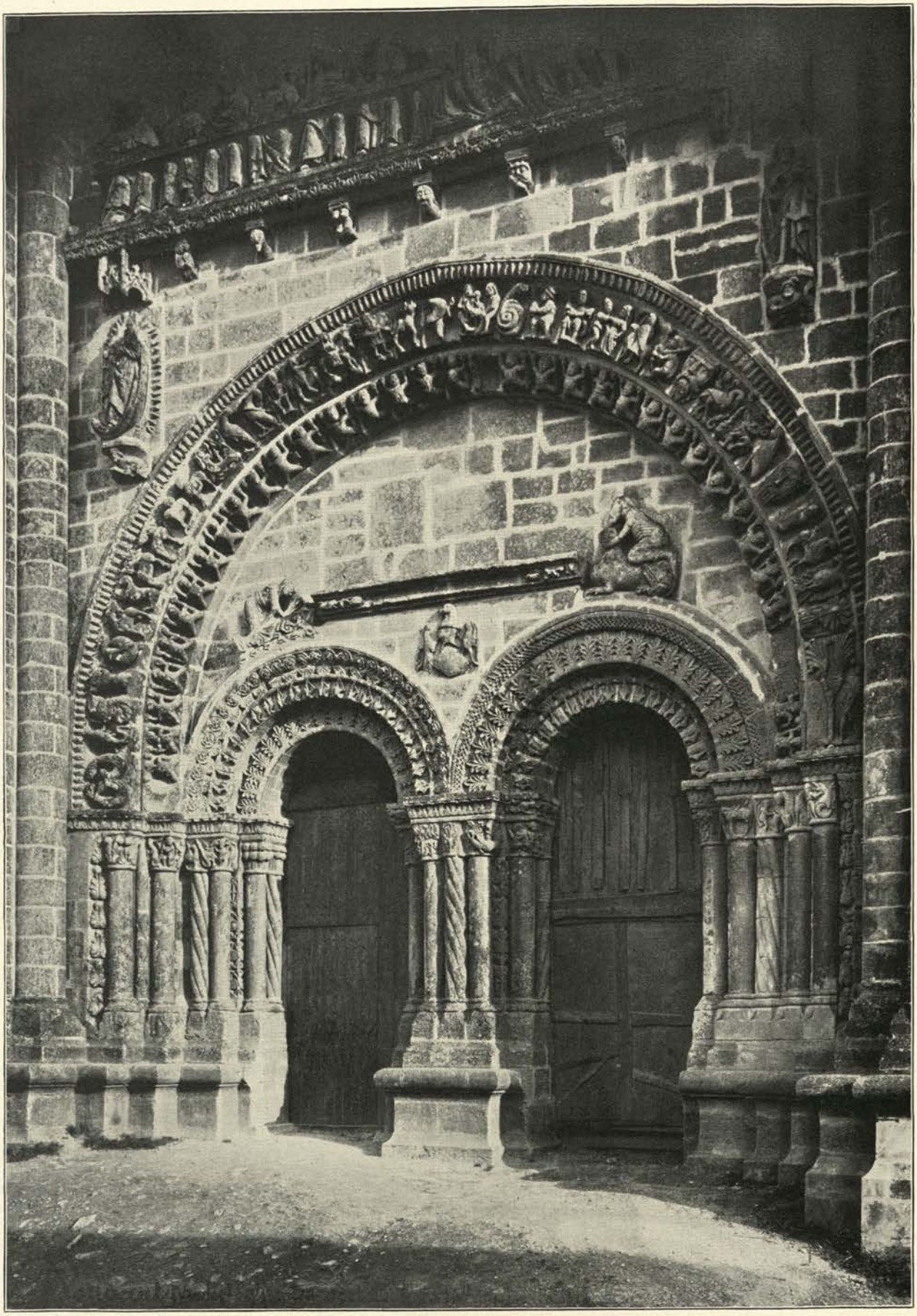
Chalais (Charente). Church, West Front



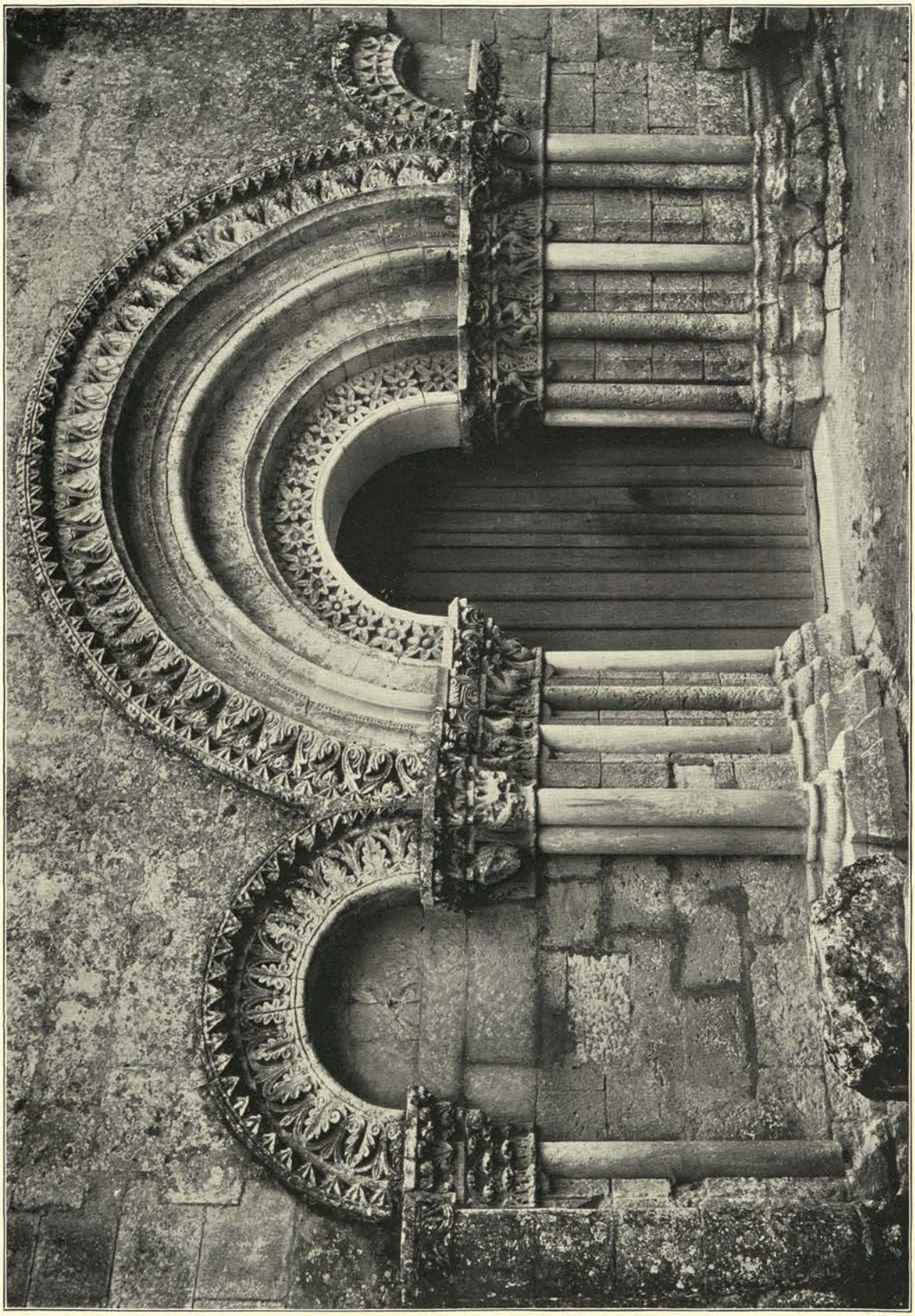
Surgères (Charente-Inférieure). Church, West Front



Maillezais (Vendée). Church, Detail of the West Front

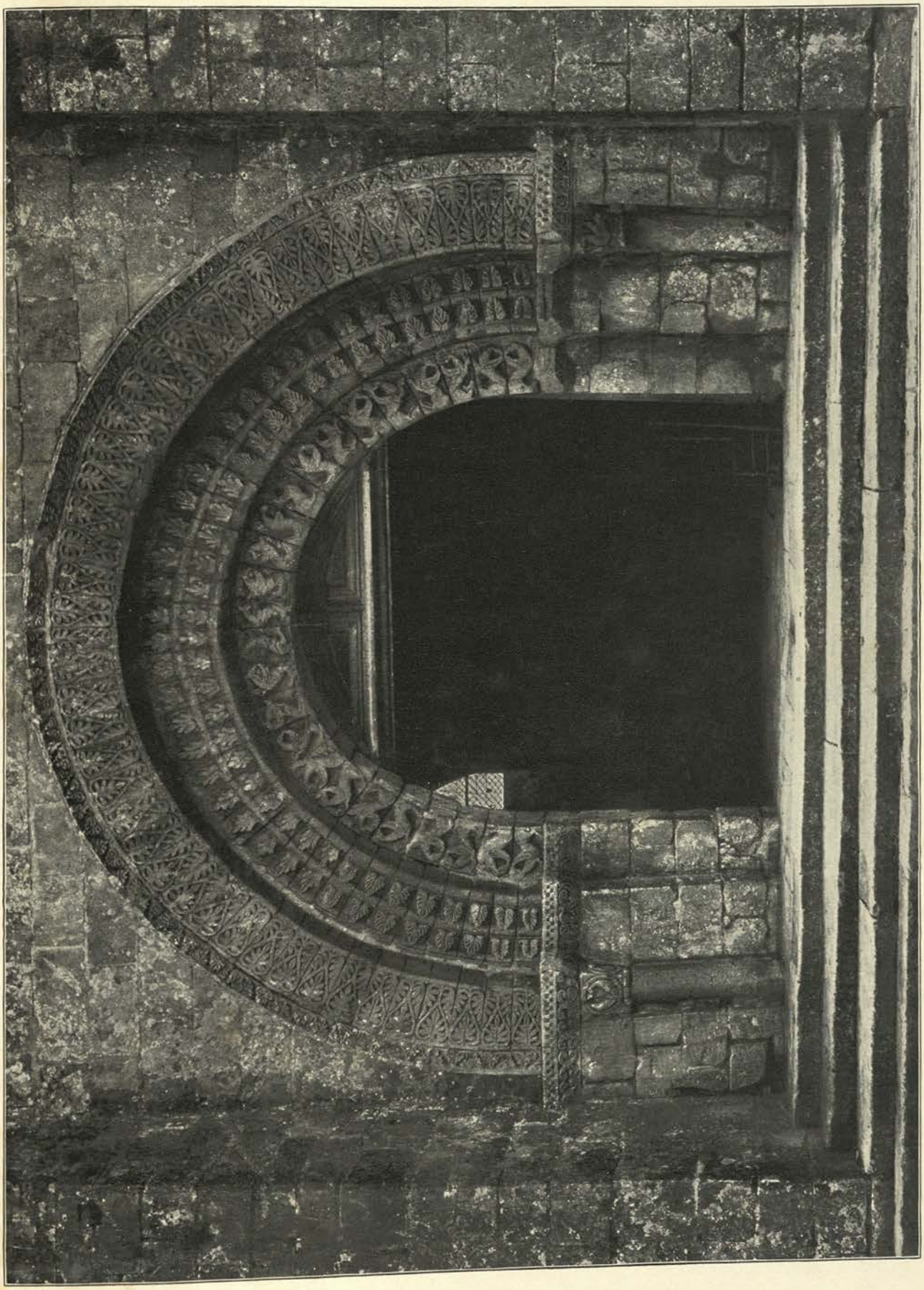


Vouvant (Vendée). Church, North Transept, Portal

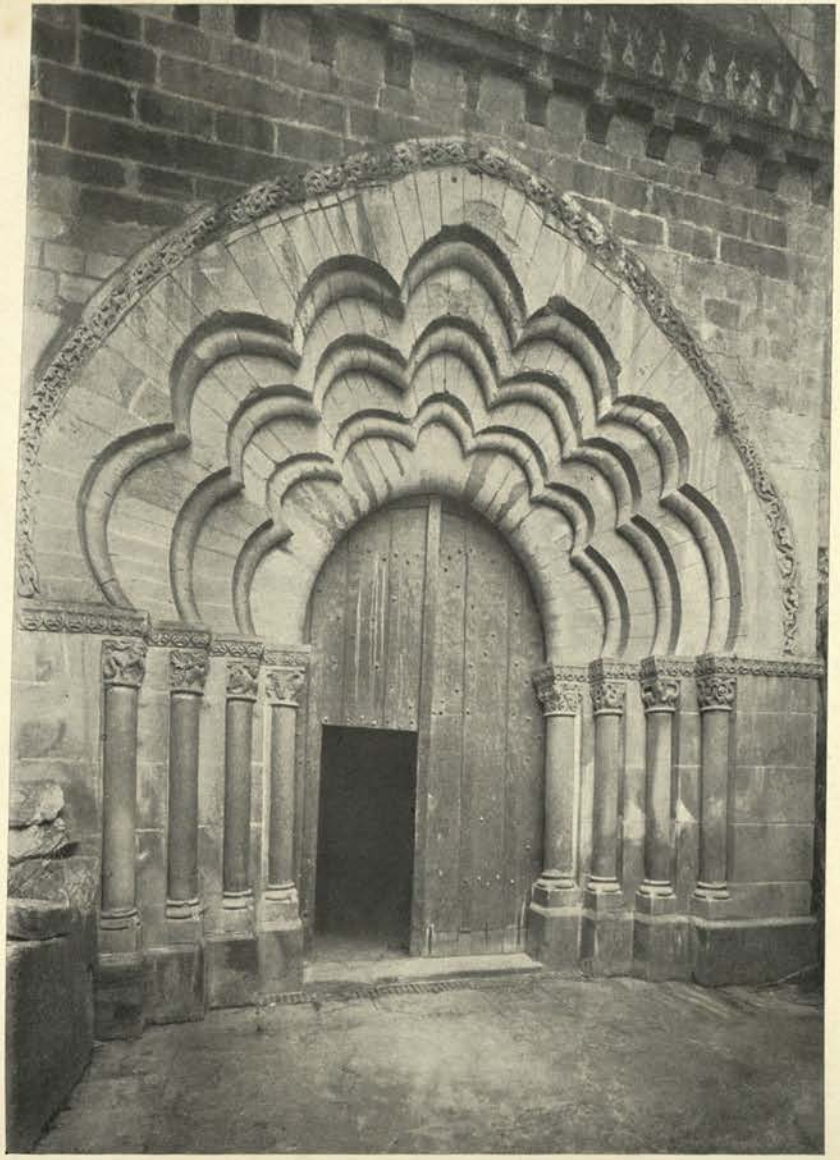


Écurat (Charente-Inférieure). Church, West Front, Portal

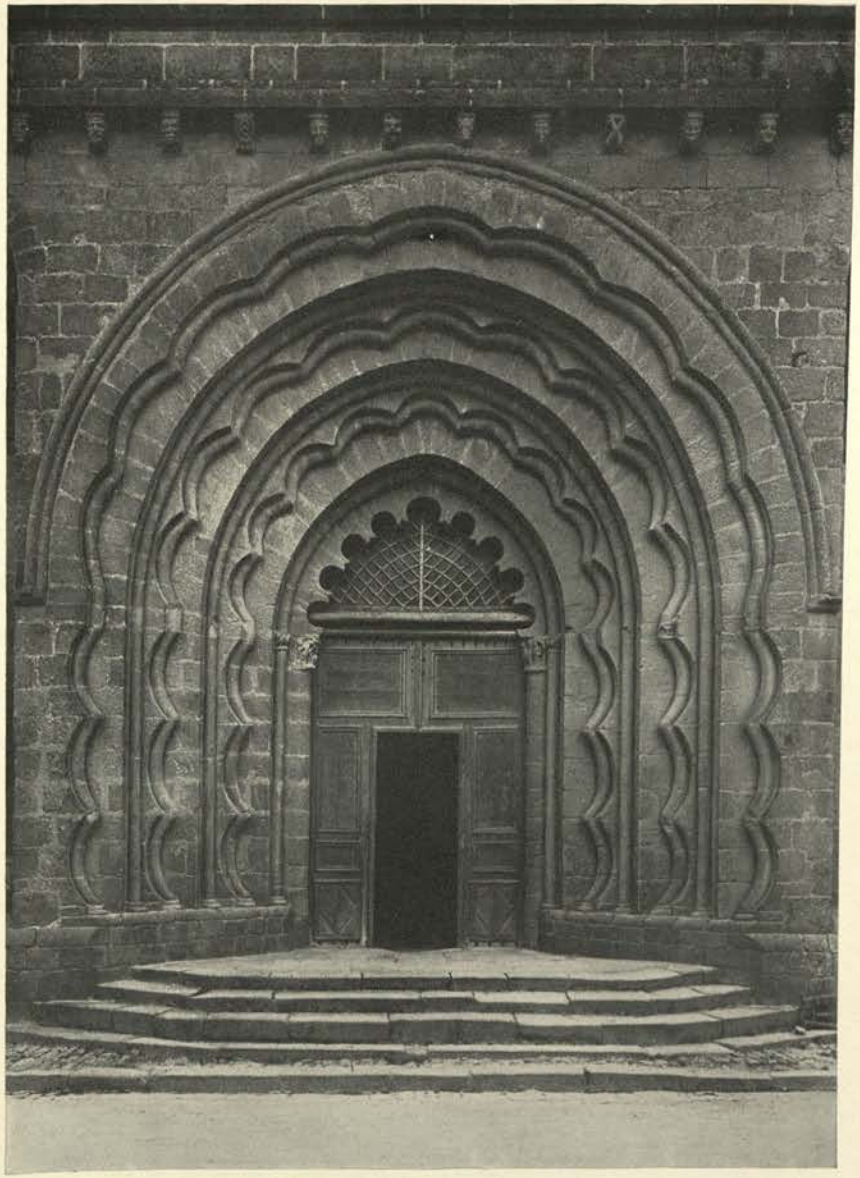
Parthenay-le-Vieux (Deux-Sèvres). Church, West Front, Detail



Saint-Maurice (Vienne). Church, North Portal



Thouars (Deux-Sèvres). Saint-Médard, Portal. - Lichères (Charente). Church, West Portal

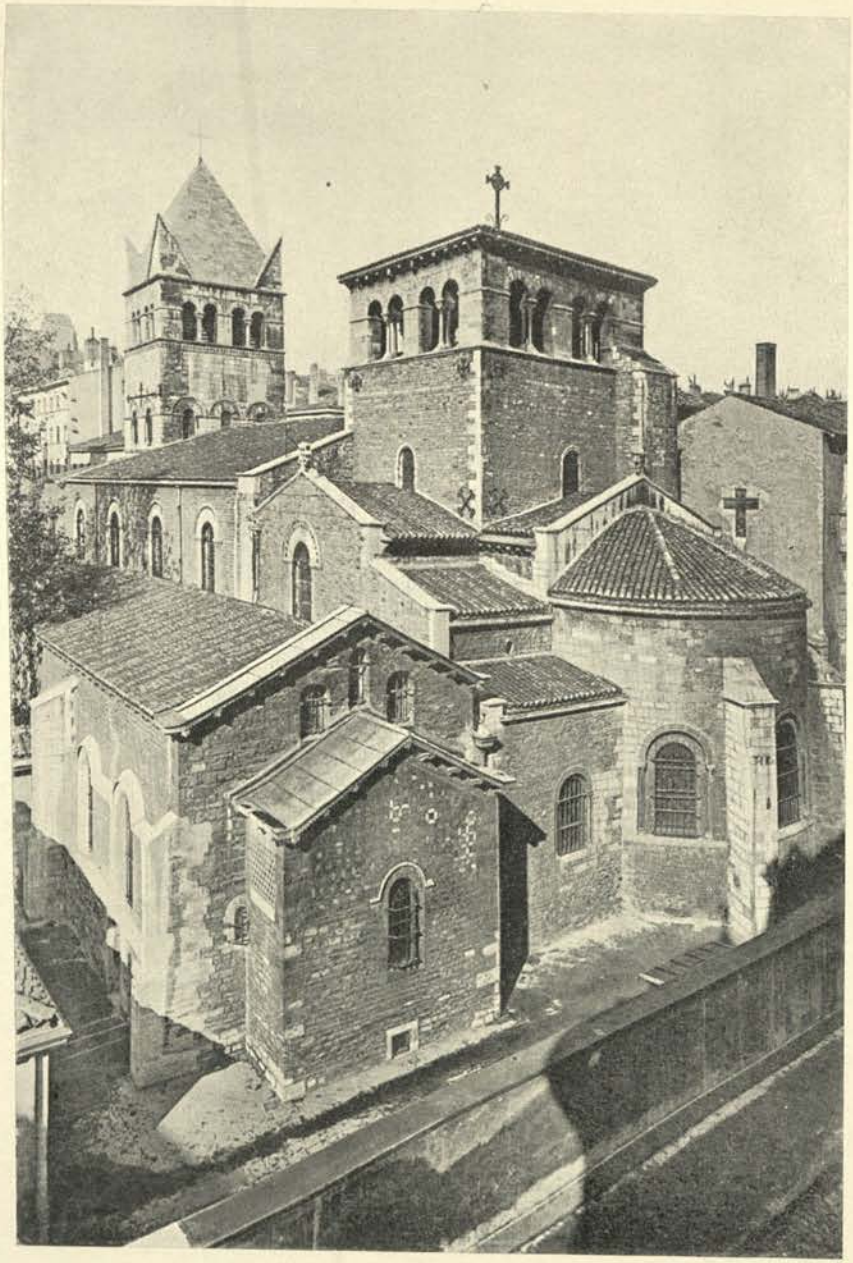


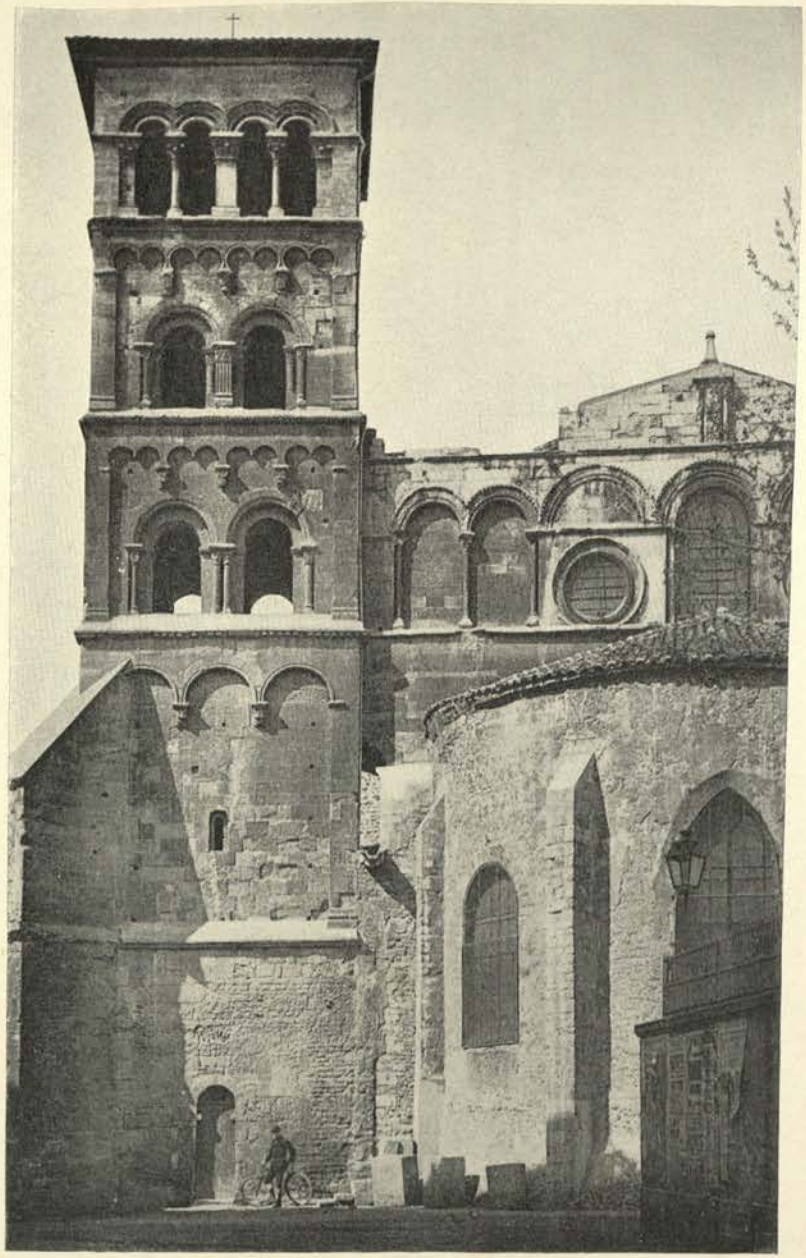
Montréal (Yonne). Church, West Portal. - La Souterraine (Creuse). Church, West Portal

Lescure (Tarn). Church, West Portal

Lyon (Rhône). Saint-Martin-d'Ainay, West Front

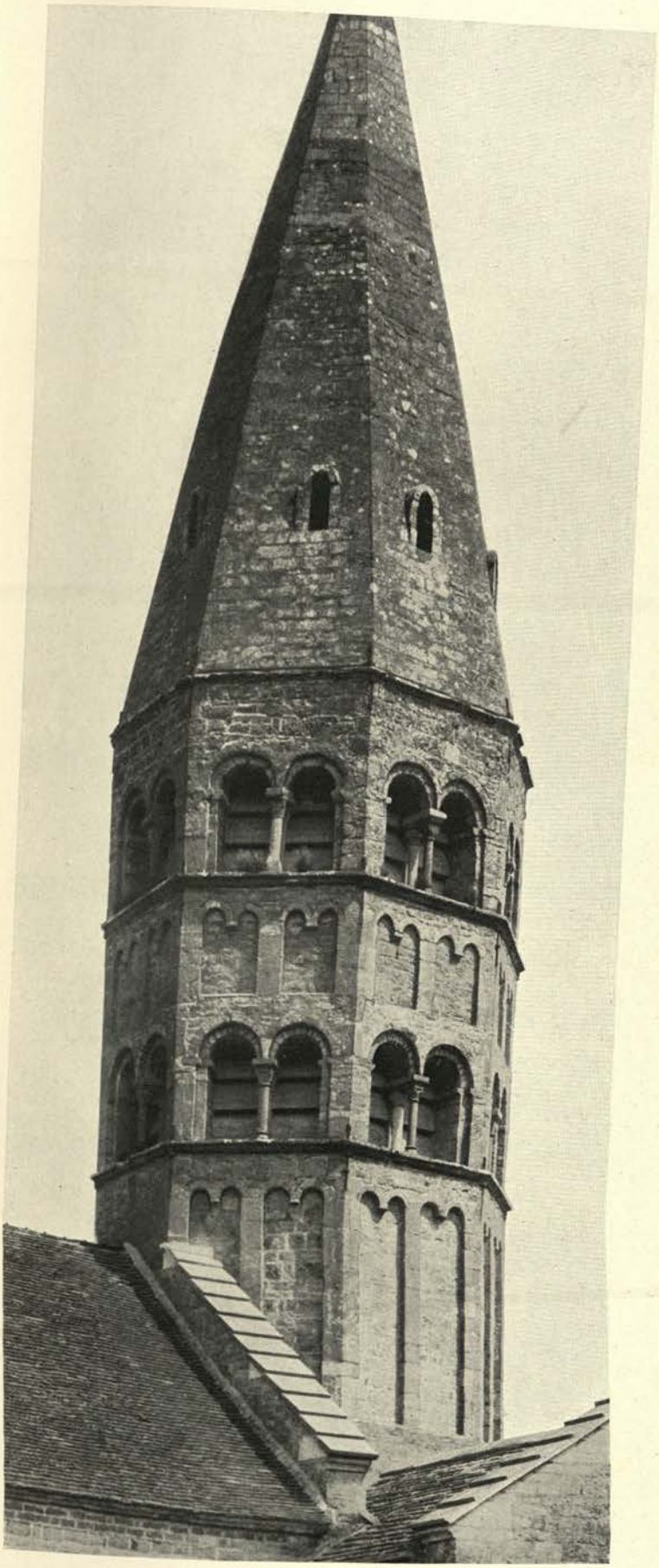
Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme). Church, View from the East.
Saint-Savin (Vienne). Church, View from the East

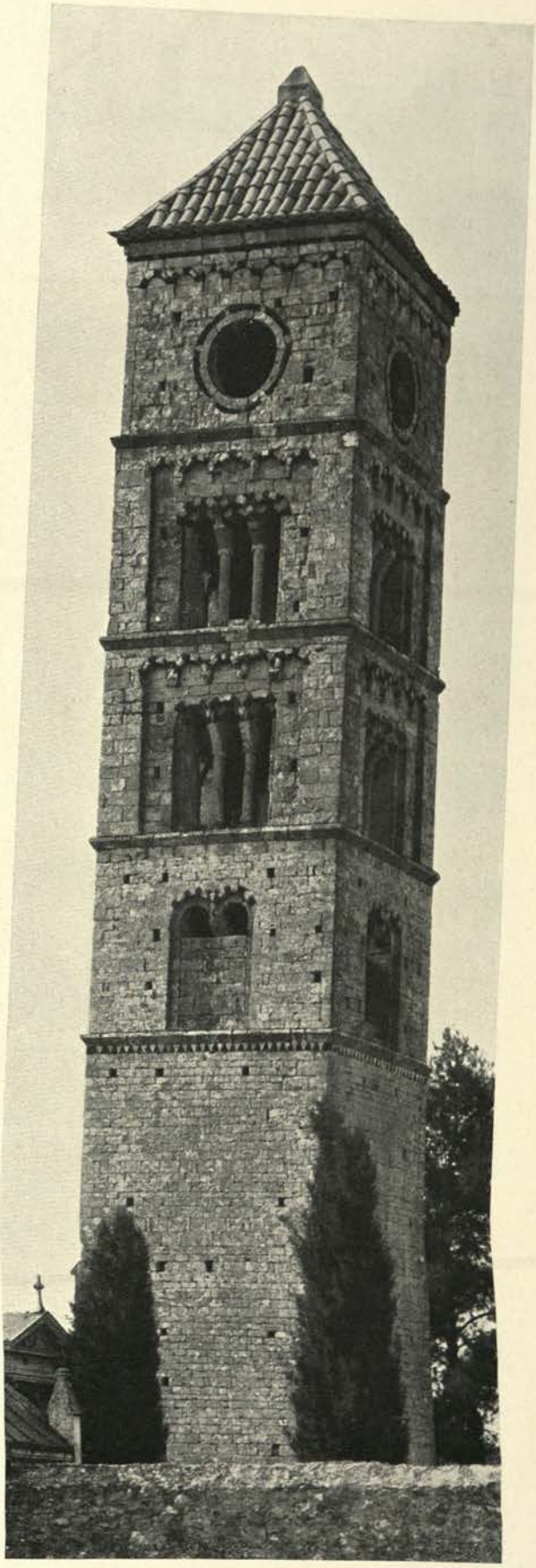




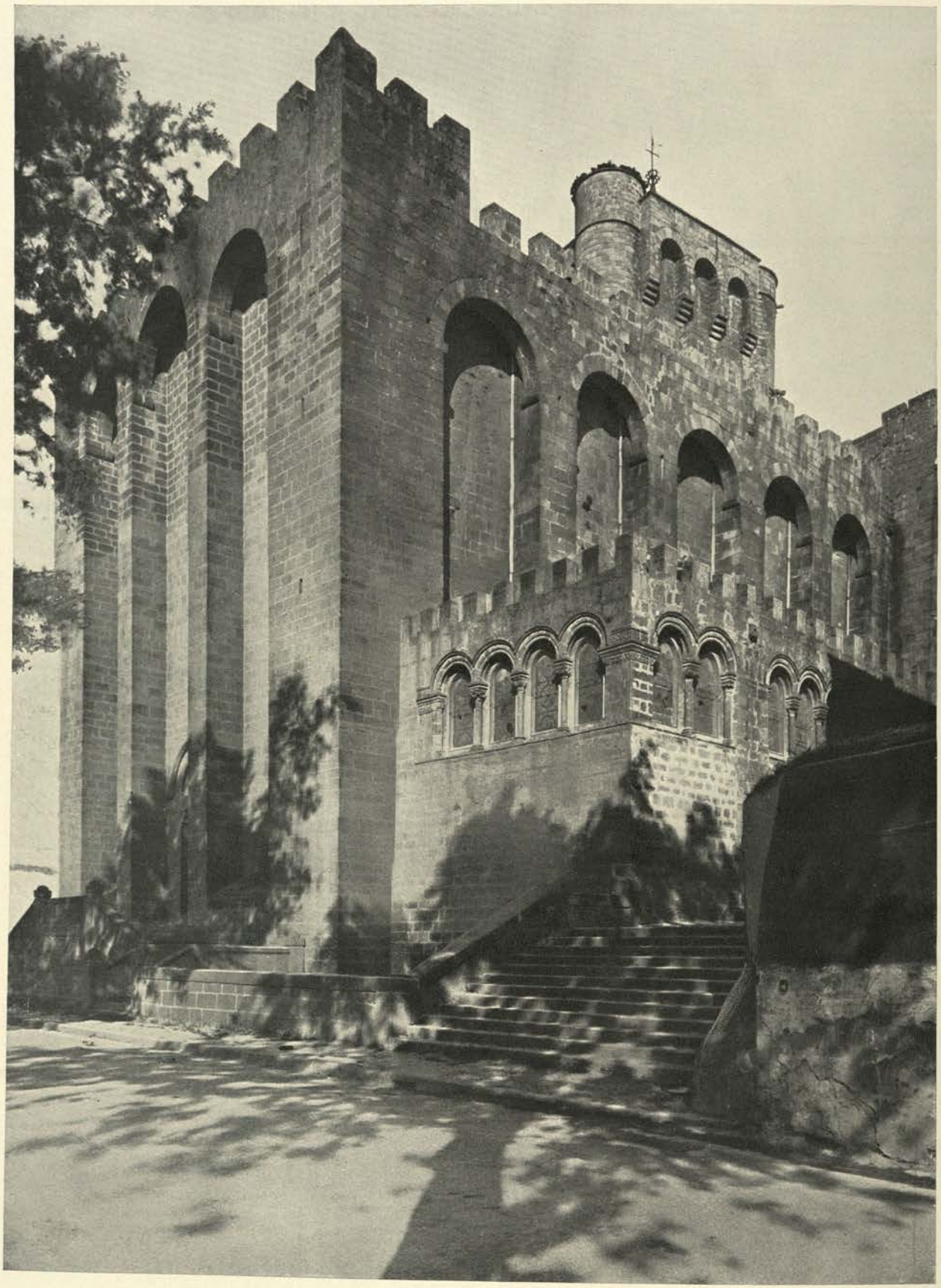
Lyon (Rhône). Saint-Martin-d'Ainay, View from South-East. - Vienne (Isère). Saint-André-le-Bas, View from the East

Cruas (Ardèche). Church, View from the East. - Champagne (Ardèche). Church, Nave, View from the Entrance





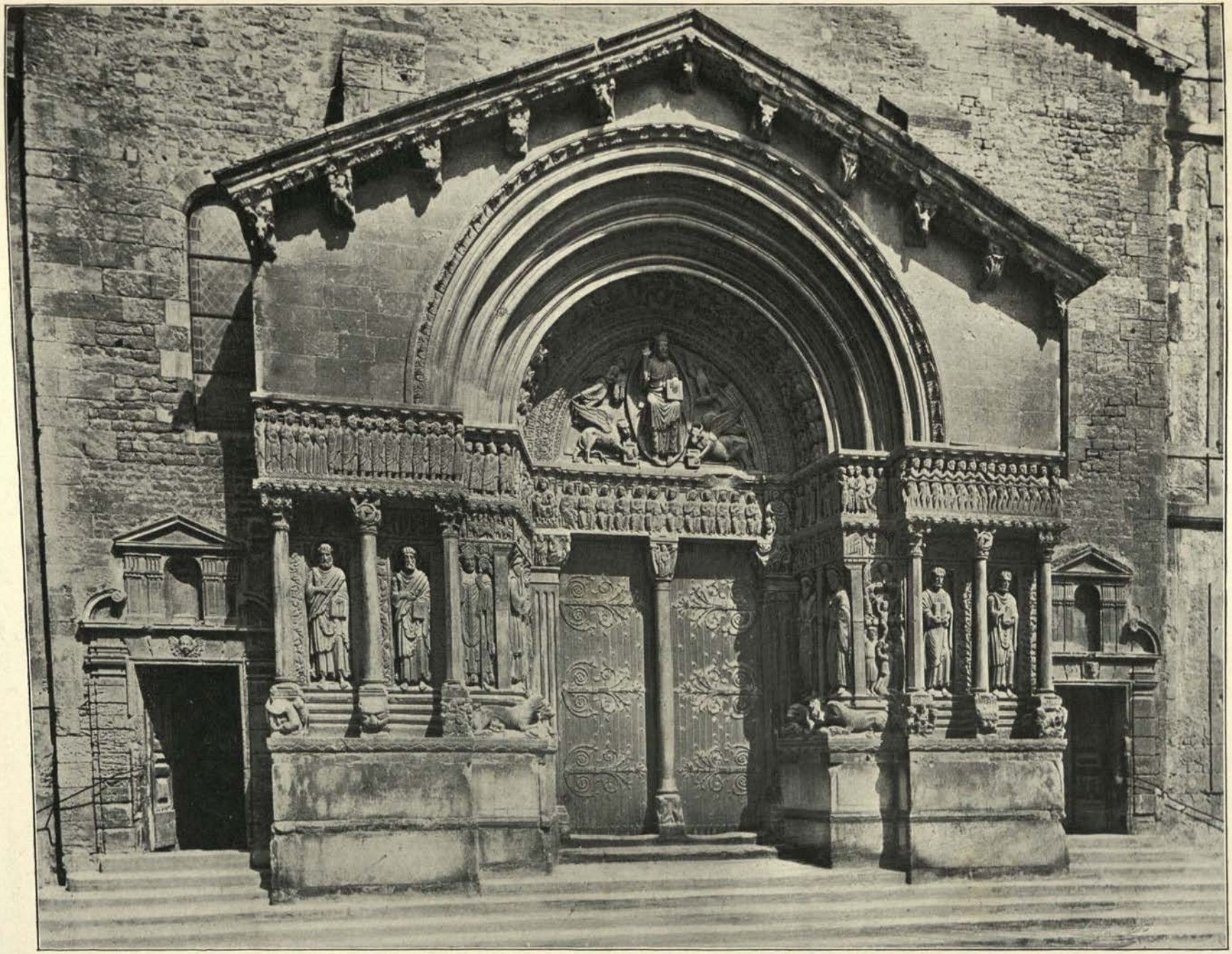
Bâgé-le-Châtel (Ain). Saint-André, Tower. - Puissalicon (Hérault). Tower in the Cemetery



Agde (Hérault). Cathedral, View from South-West

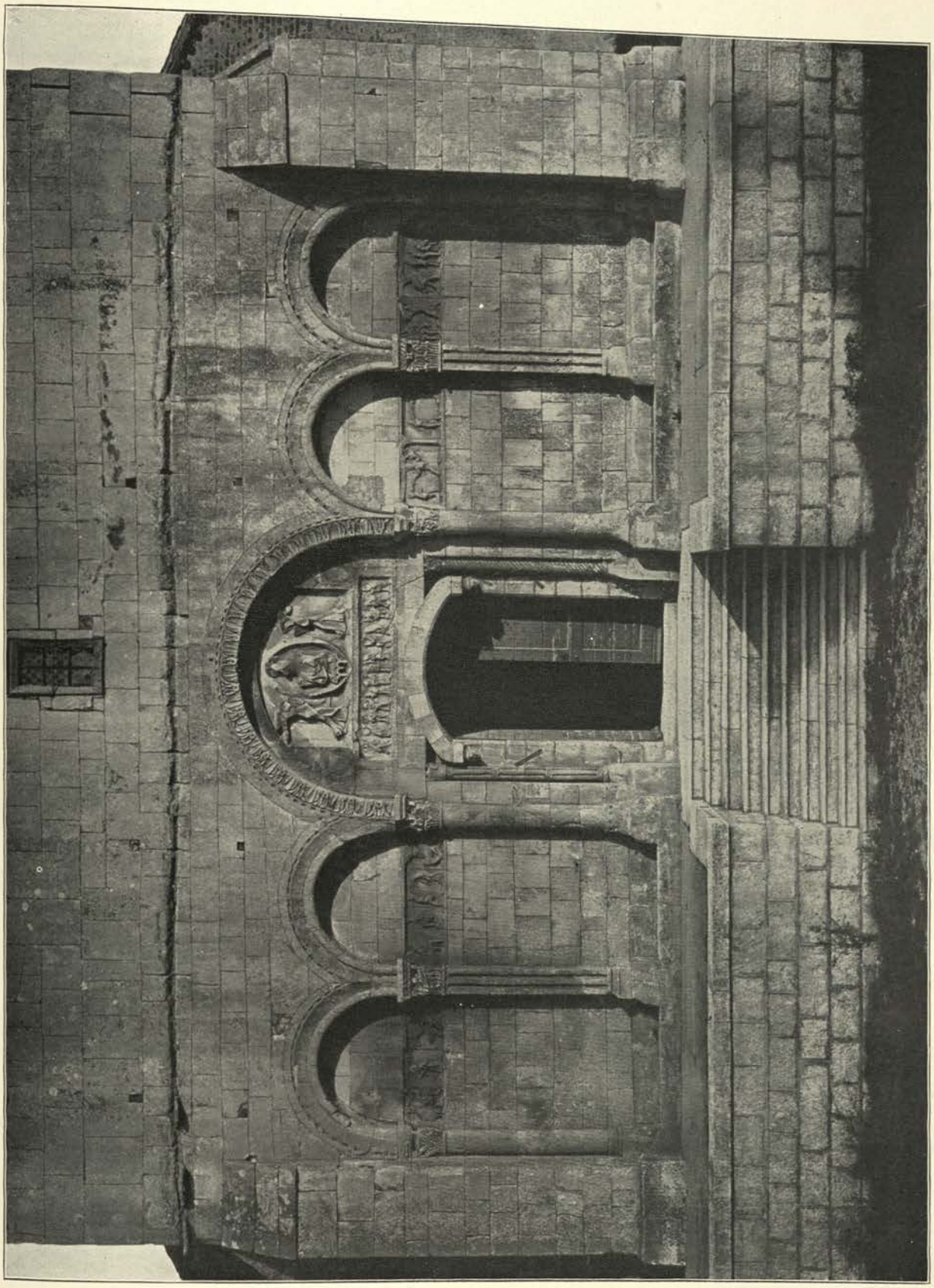
Les-Saintes-Maries (Bouches-du-Rhône). Church, View from South-East

Avignon (Vaucluse). Pont Saint-Bénézet, Chapel Saint-Nicolas on the bridge, View from the East

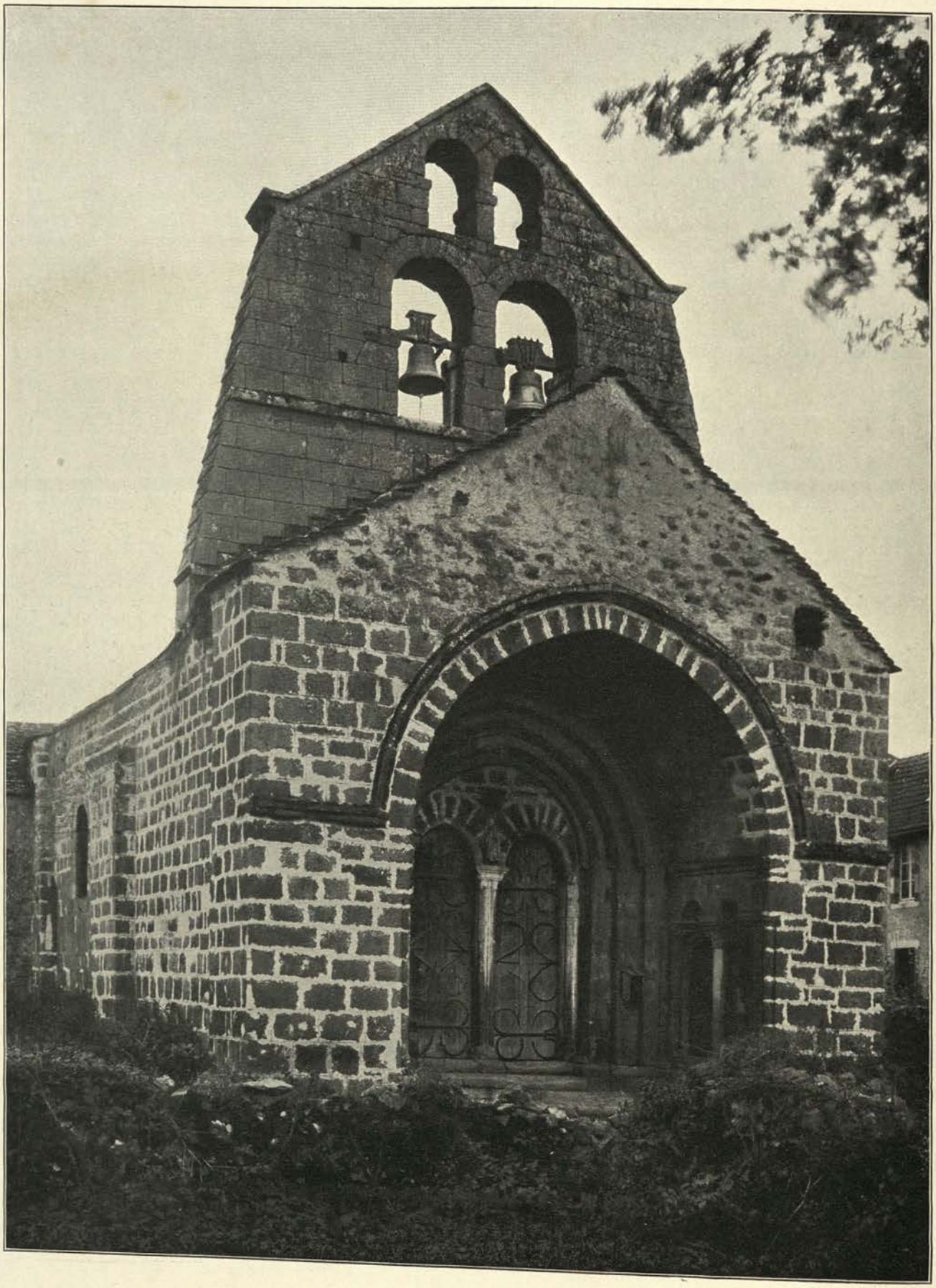


Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophime, Portal

Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, West Front



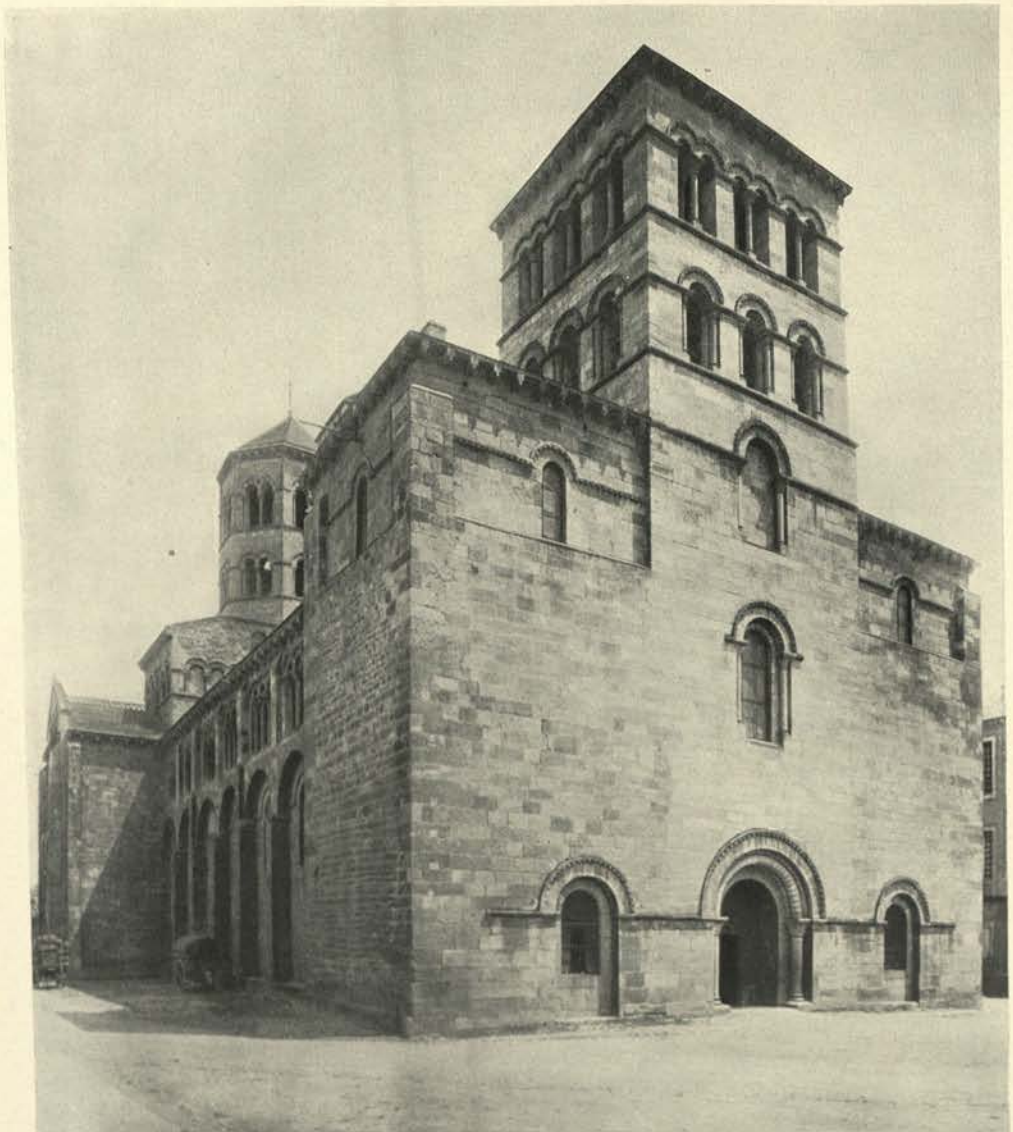
Saint-Paul-de-Varax (Ain). Church, West Front



Ydes (Cantal). Church, View from the West

Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Notre-Dame-du-Port, View from North-East

Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Notre-Dame-du-Port, View from South-West

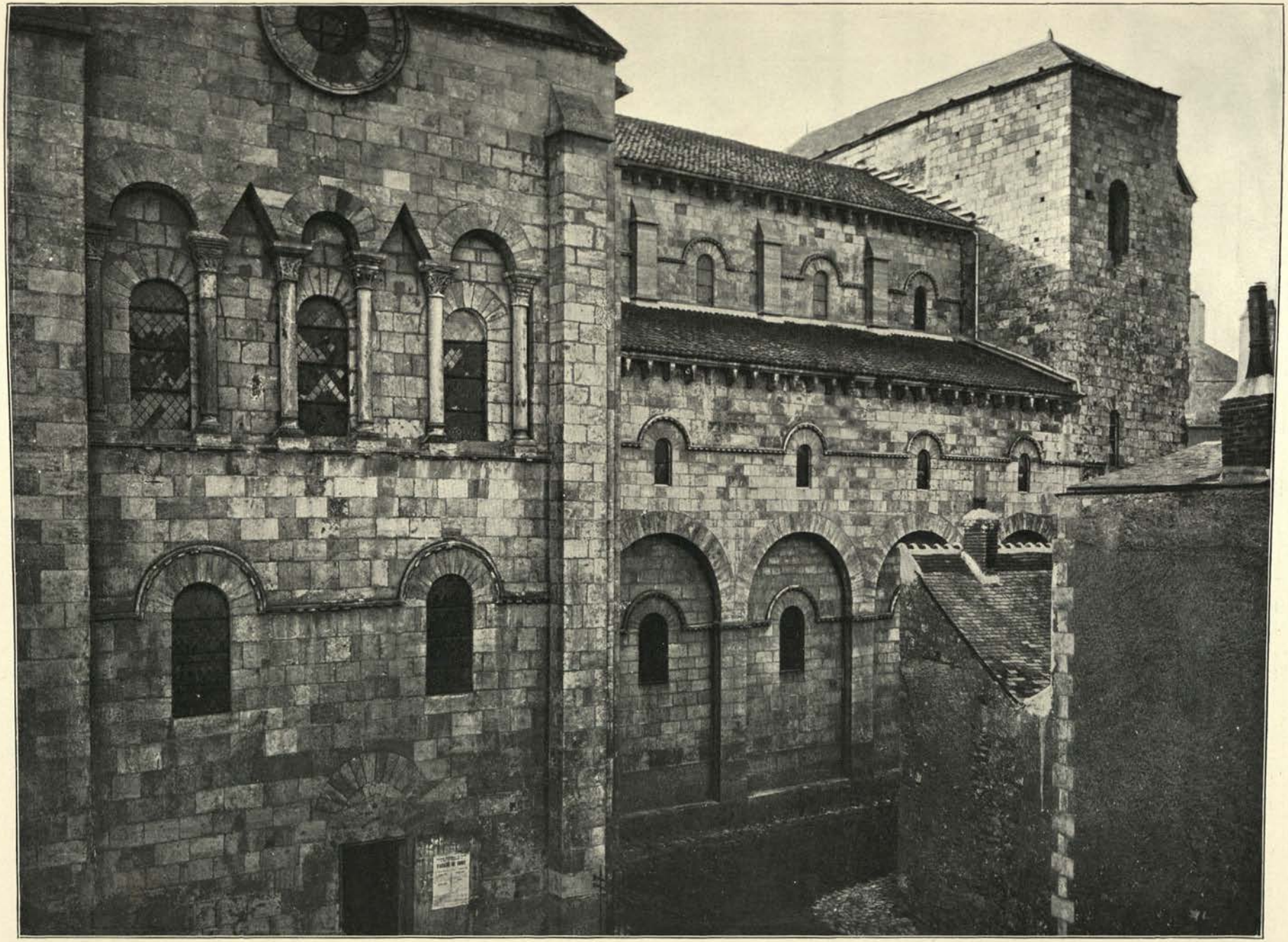


Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Saint-Paul, View from the West. - Orcival (Puy-de-Dôme). Church, View from the East

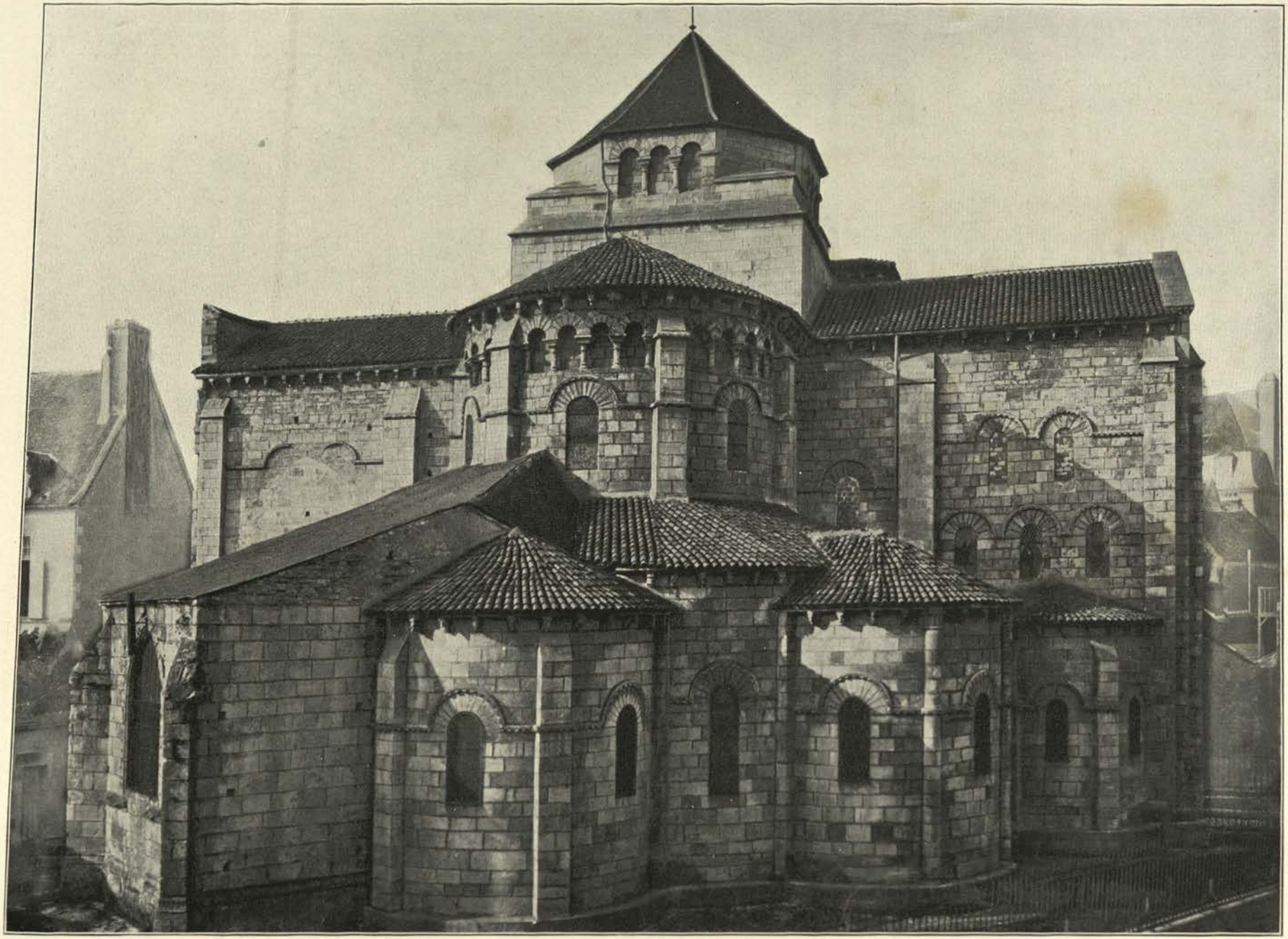
Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Saint-Paul, Apse, seen from South-East

Saint-Saturnin (Puy-de-Dôme). Church, North Front

Chauriat (Puy-de-Dôme). Church, South Transept



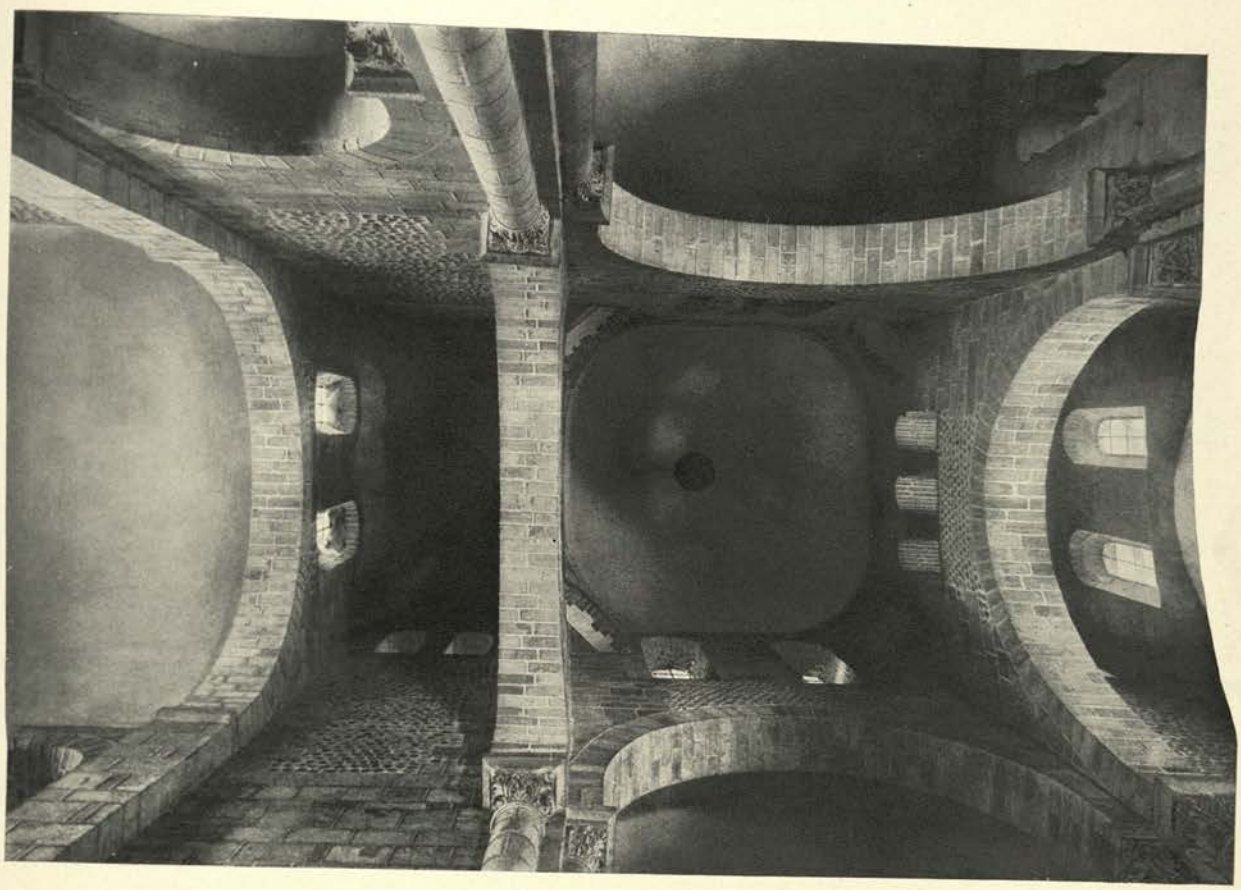
Nevers (Nièvre). Saint-Étienne, North end, 1063—1099



Nevers (Nièvre). Saint-Étienne, View from the East, 1063—1099

Conques (Aveyron). Sainte-Foy, Apse, seen from South-East

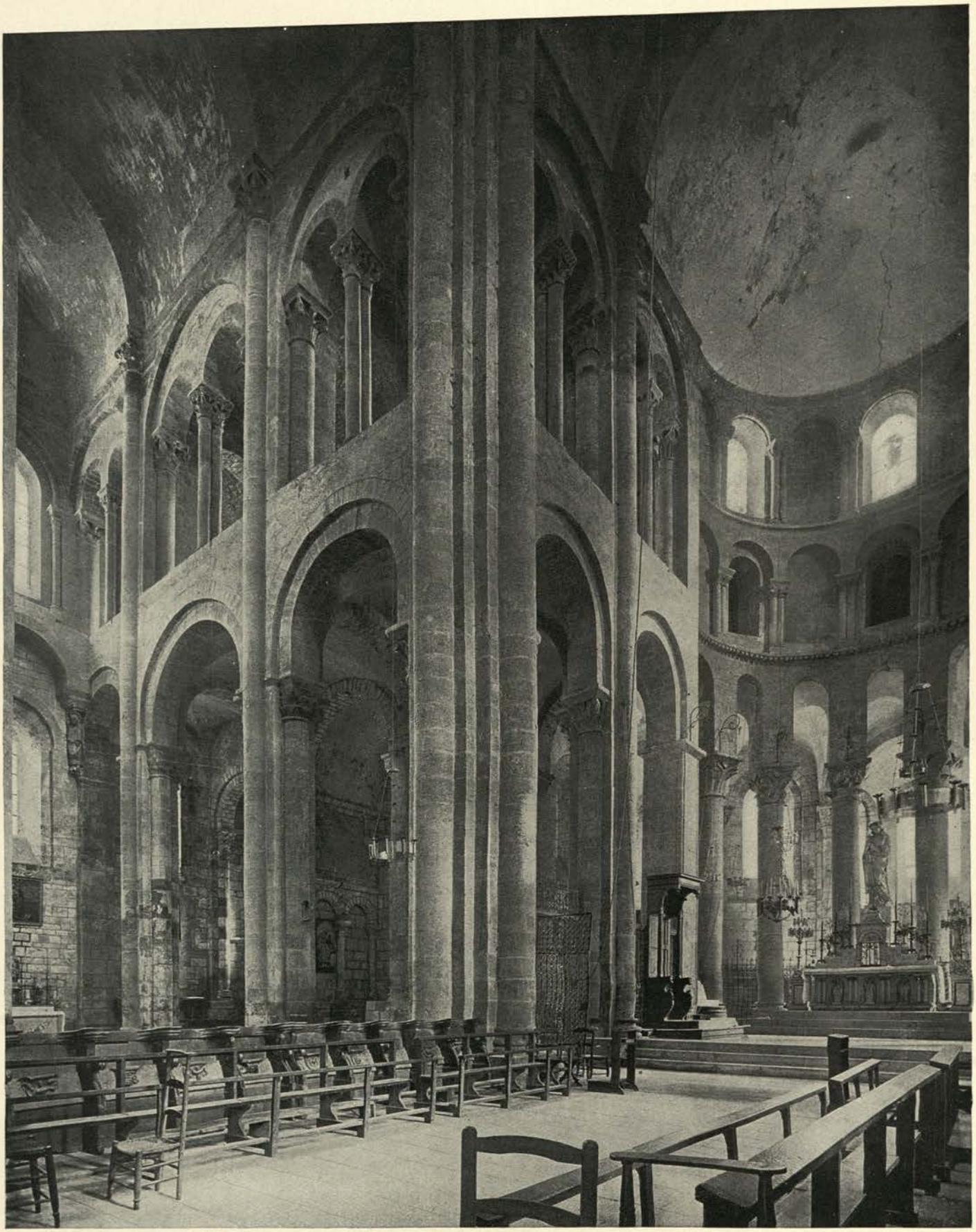
Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Notre-Dame-du Port, Nave, View from the Chancel



Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme.) Notre-Dame-du-Port, Vault of the Crossing.
Saint-Junien (Haute-Vienne). Church, Crossing

Nevers (Nièvre). Saint-Étienne, Nave, View from the Entrance, 1063—1099

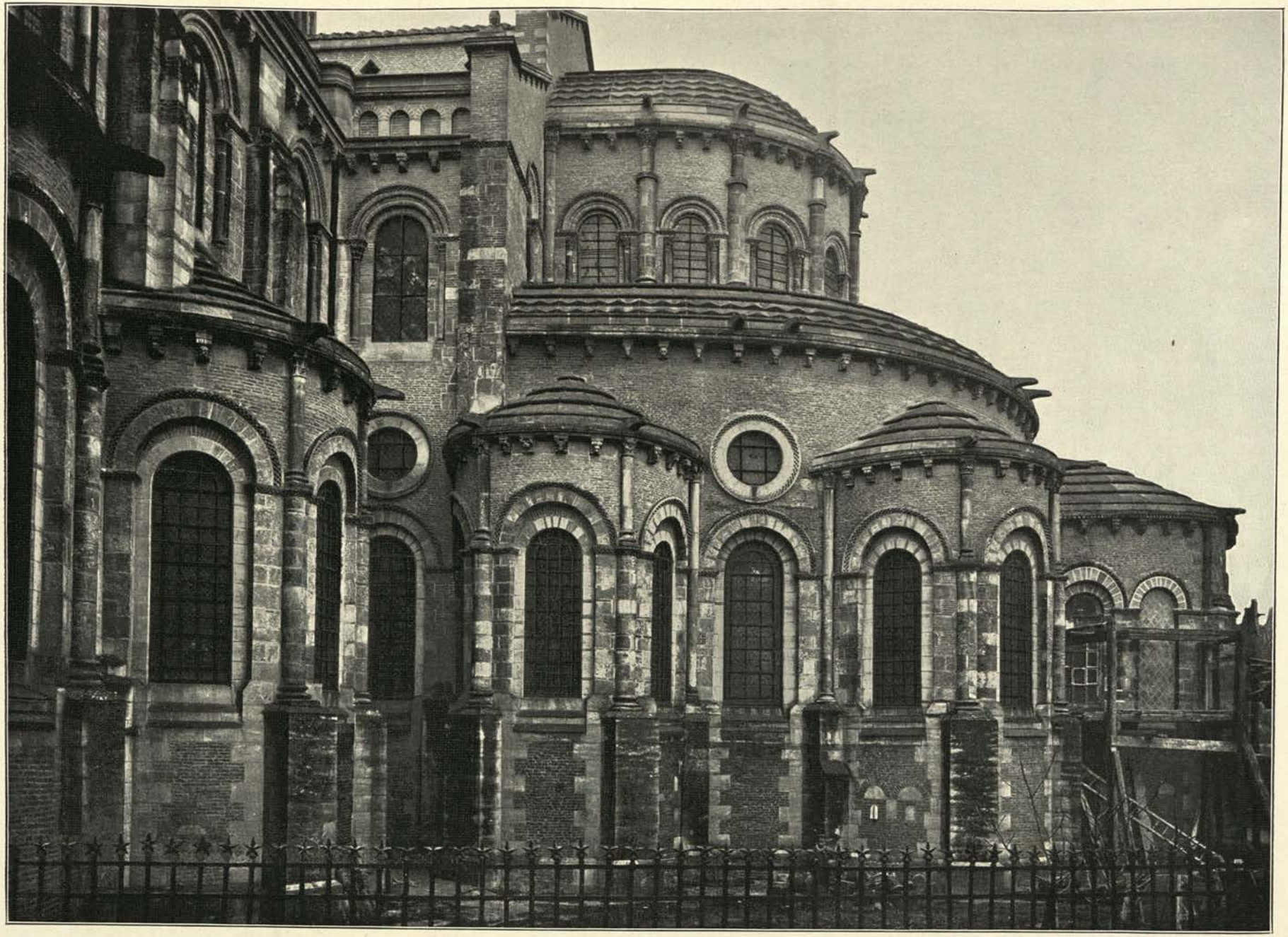
Conques (Aveyron). Sainte-Foy, Nave, View from the Tribune



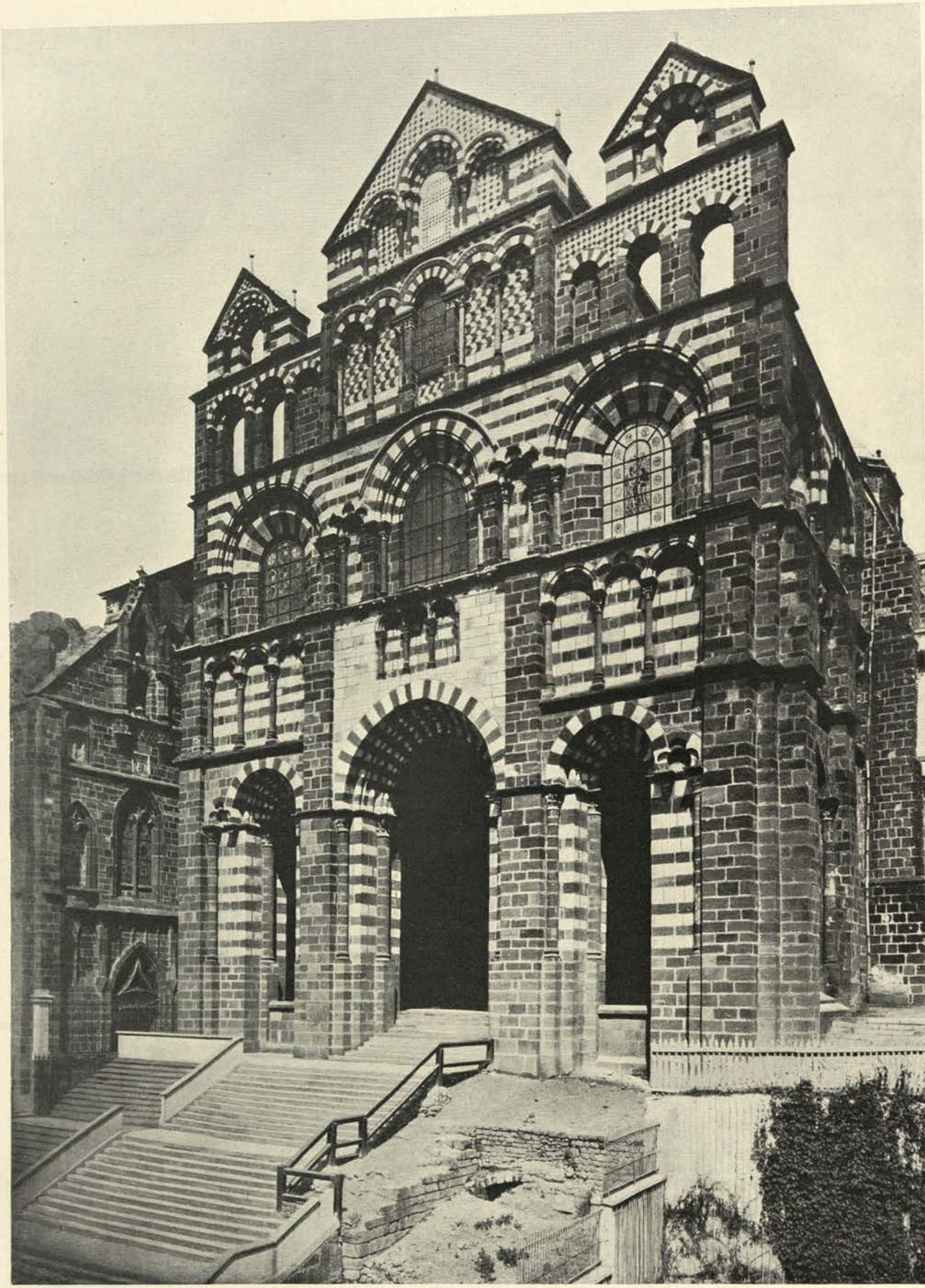
Conques (Aveyron). Sainte-Foy, Choir and North Transept

Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin (1095—1135), View from South-West

Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, East end

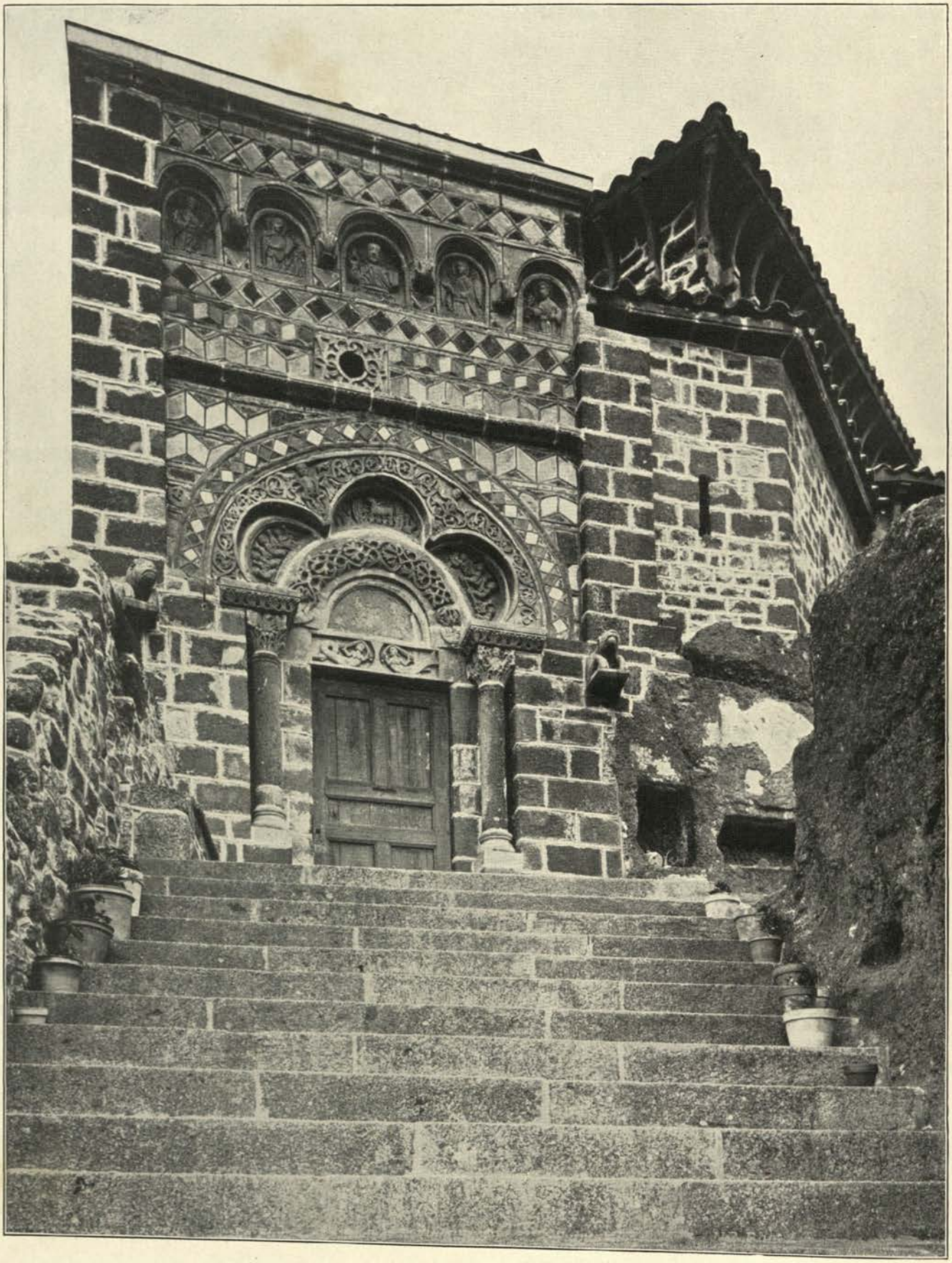


Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, Apse, View from South-East



Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, West Front

Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, General View from the North



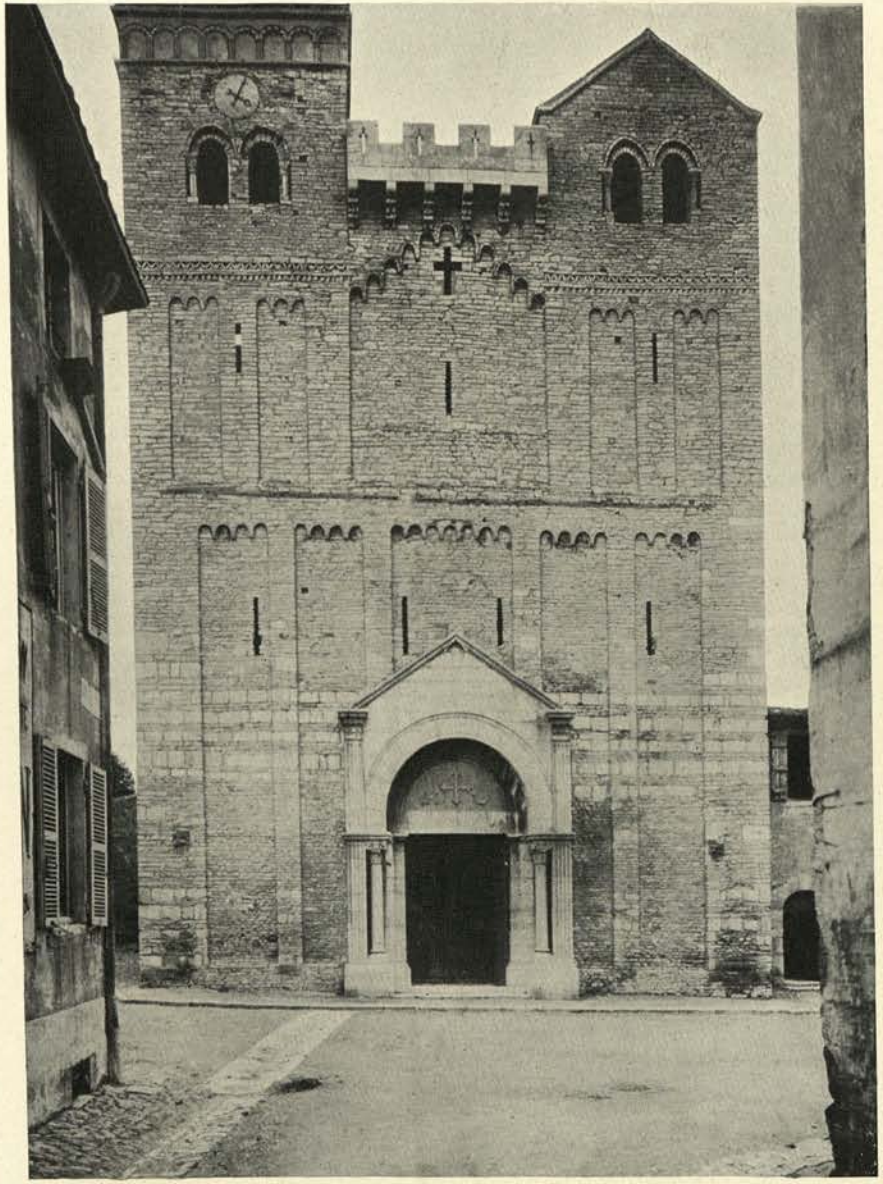
Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute-Loire). Chapel Saint-Michel-d'Aiguilhe, Front

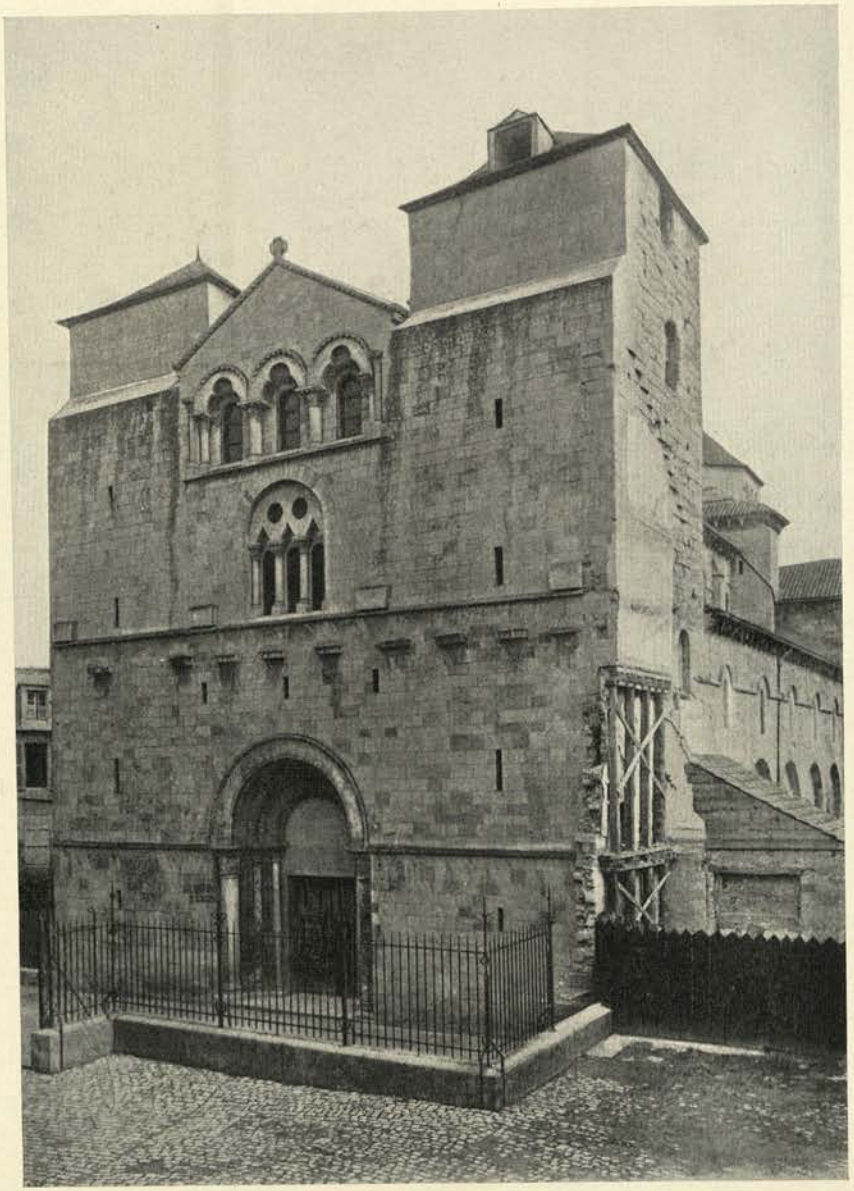
Figeac (Lot). Saint-Sauveur, Side aisle, South, View from the West

Tournus (Saône-et-Loire). Saint-Philibert, Nave (1007–1019), View from the West

Tournus (Saône-et-Loire). Saint-Philibert (1007—1019), View from the South

La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Tower, View from South-West

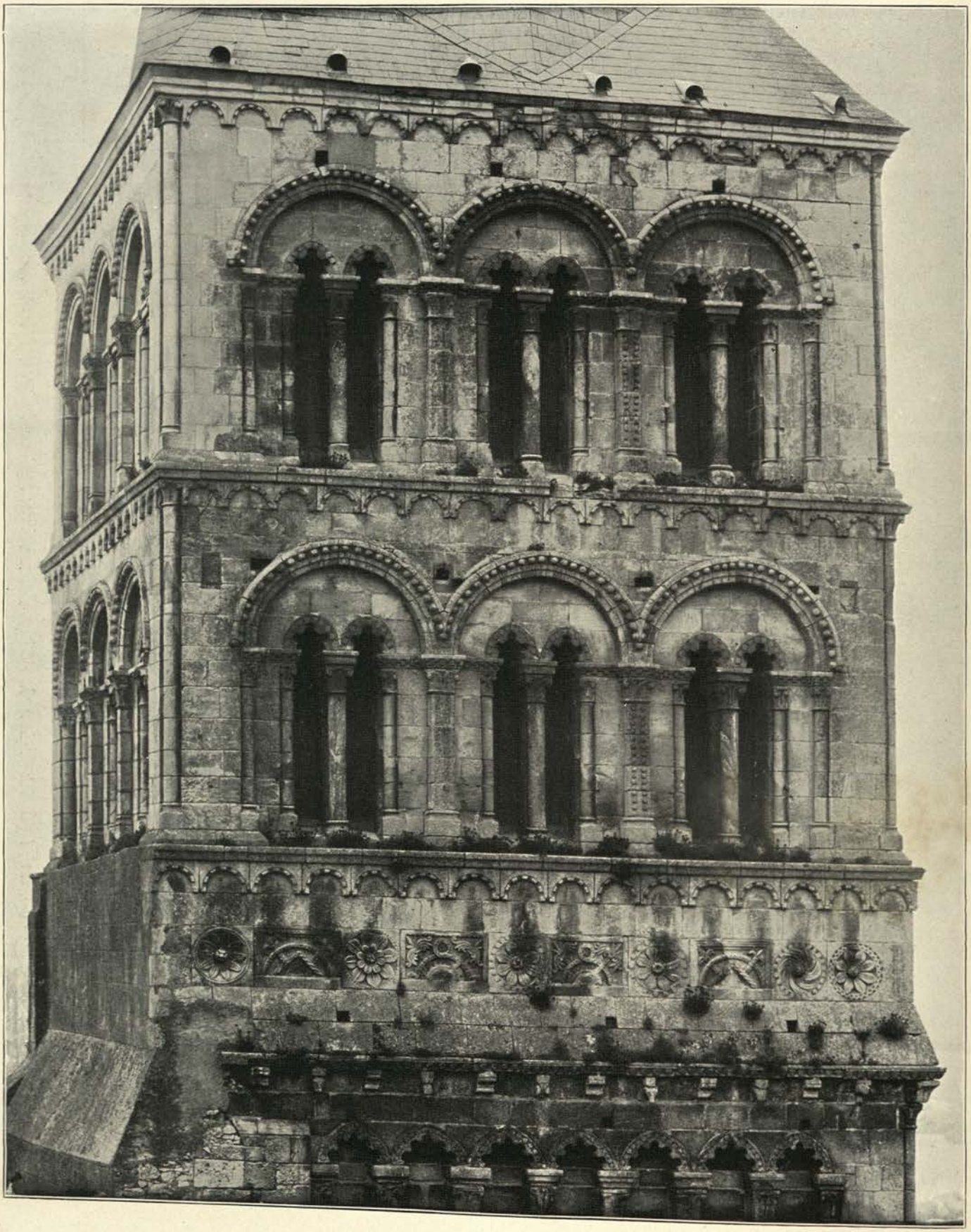




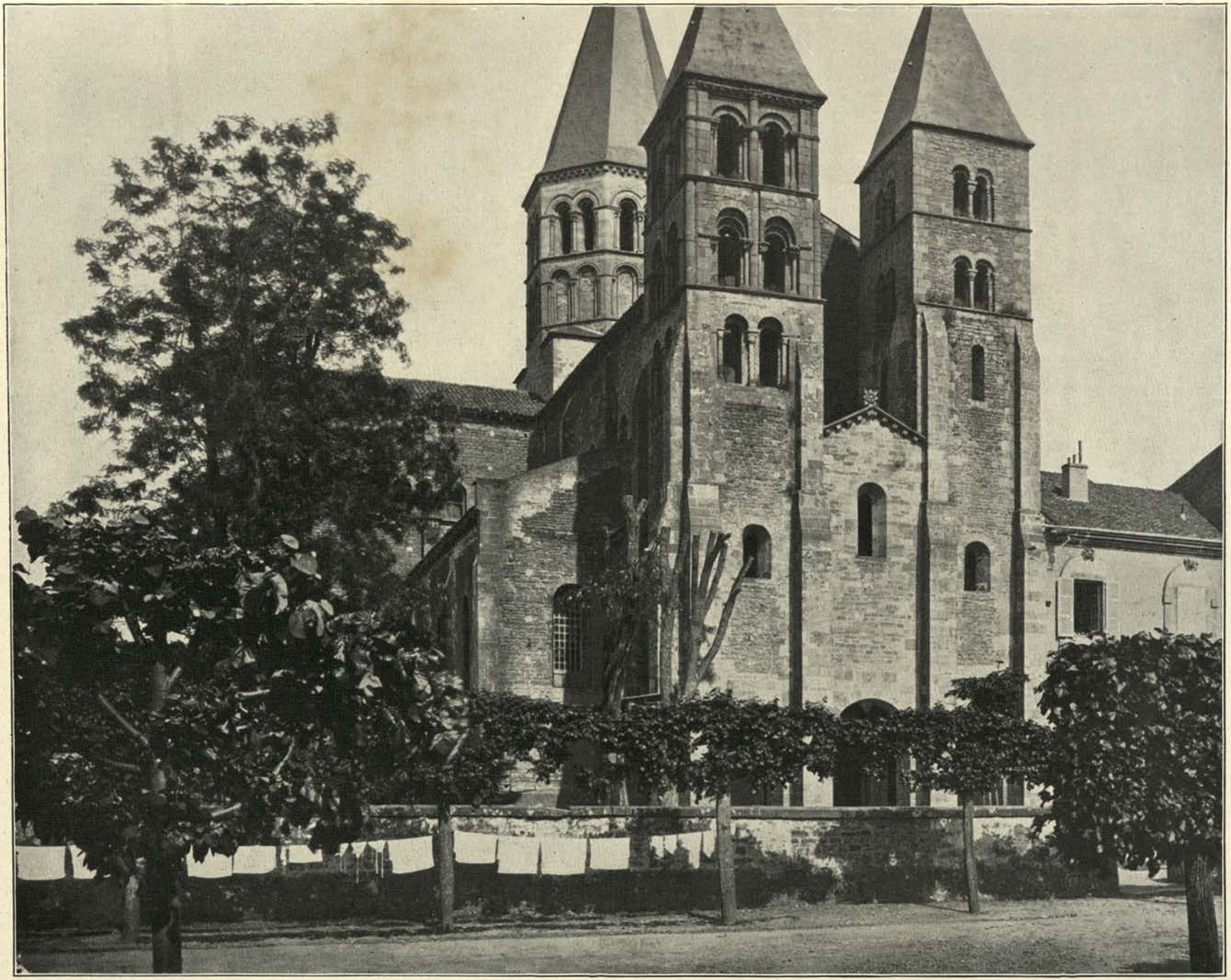
Tournus (Saône-et-Loire). Saint-Philibert, View from the West. - Nevers (Nièvre). Saint-Étienne, View from the West, 1063—1099

La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Apse (1056—1107), North-East view

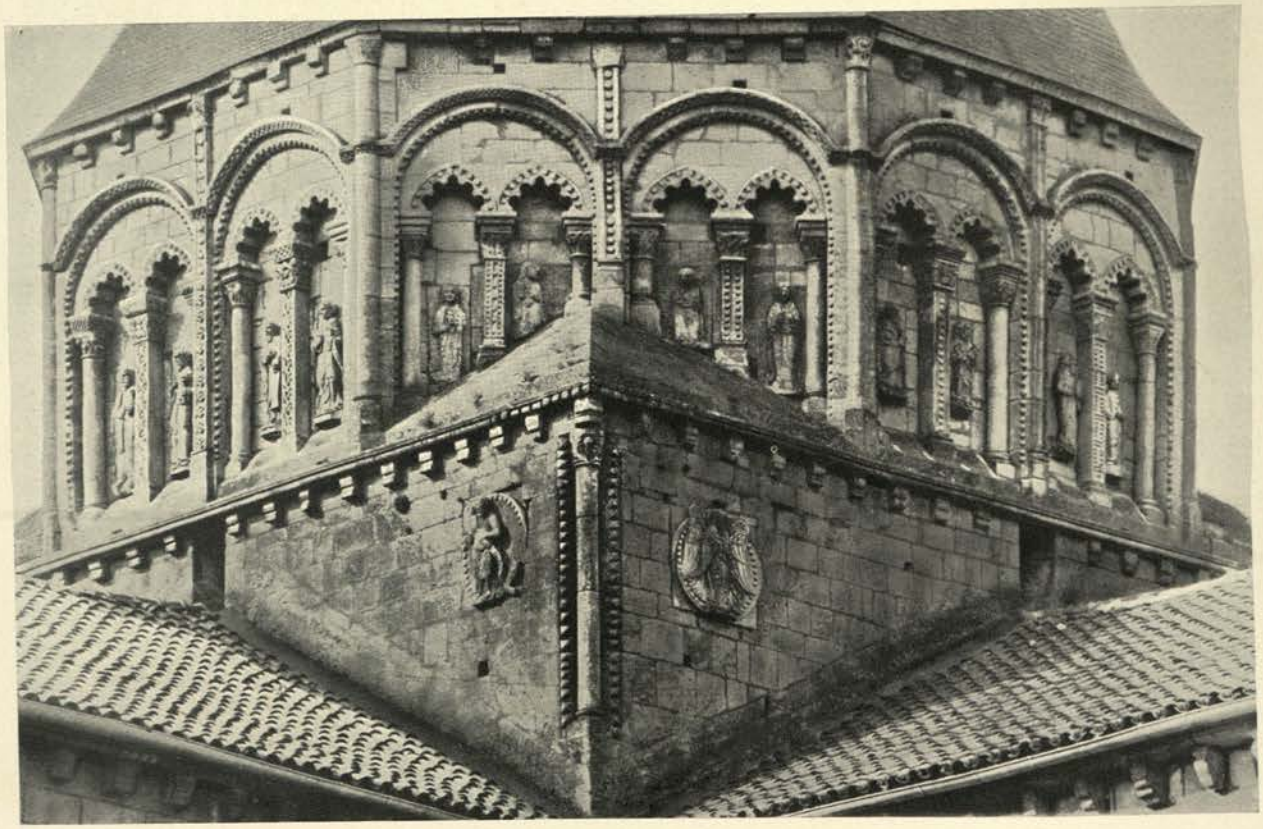
Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire). Abbey Church, Transept and Apse, North end



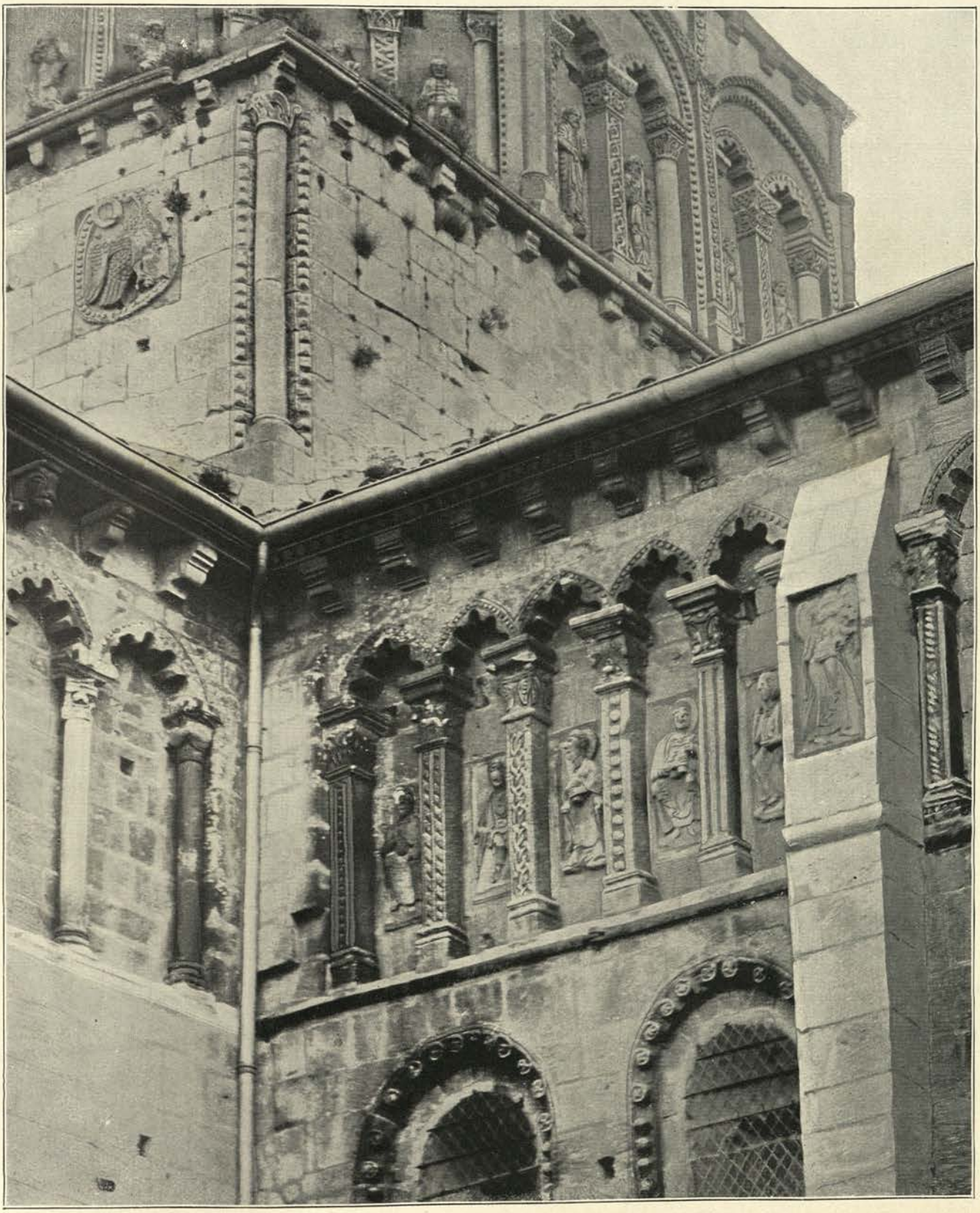
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Tower



Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire). Church, West Front



Avignon (Vaucluse). Cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, Tower over the Crossing.
(After Martin, L'art roman en France)
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Tower over the Crossing
(After Martin, L'art roman en France)



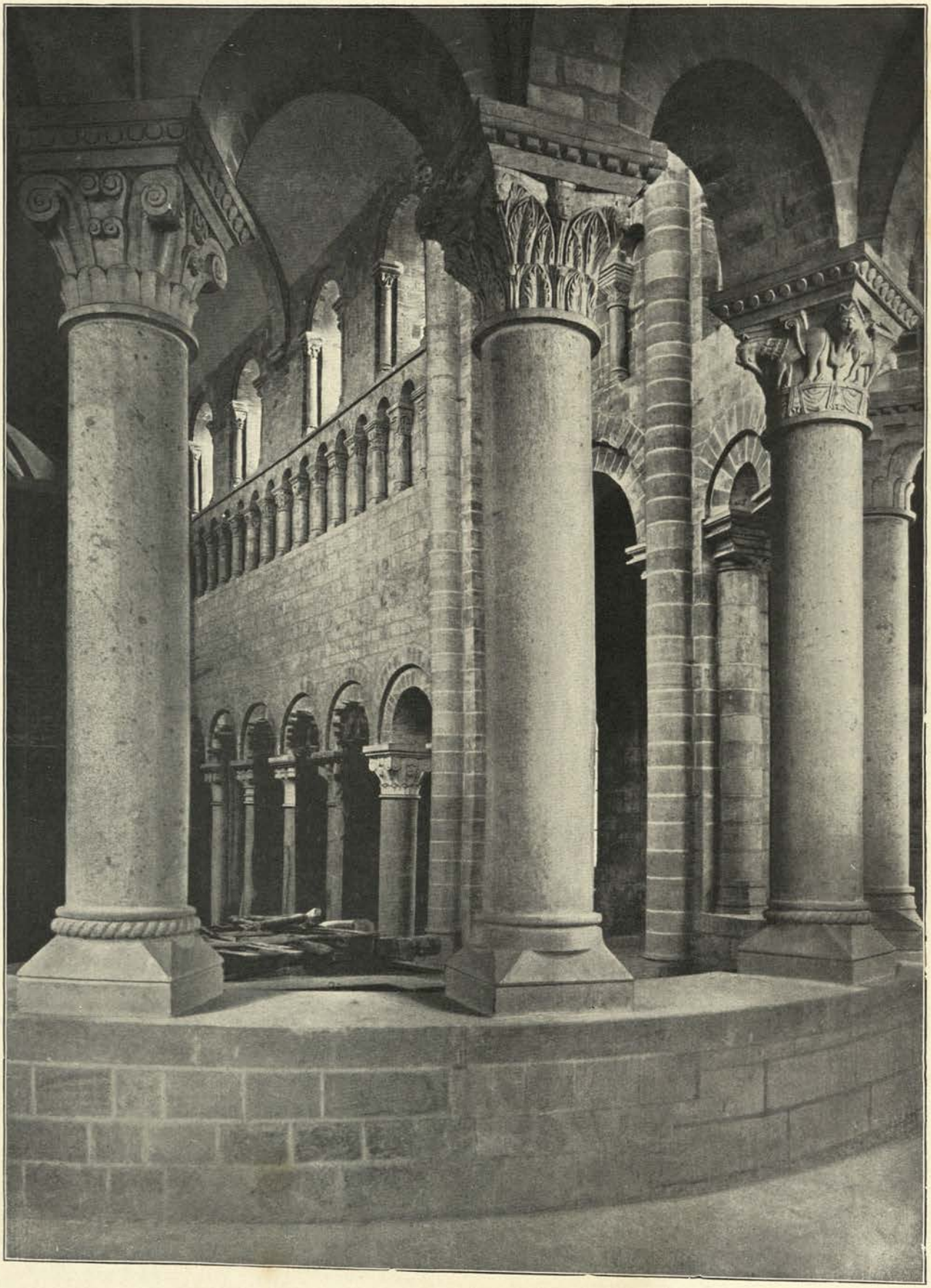
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Tower over the Crossing, Detail

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, View from North-West

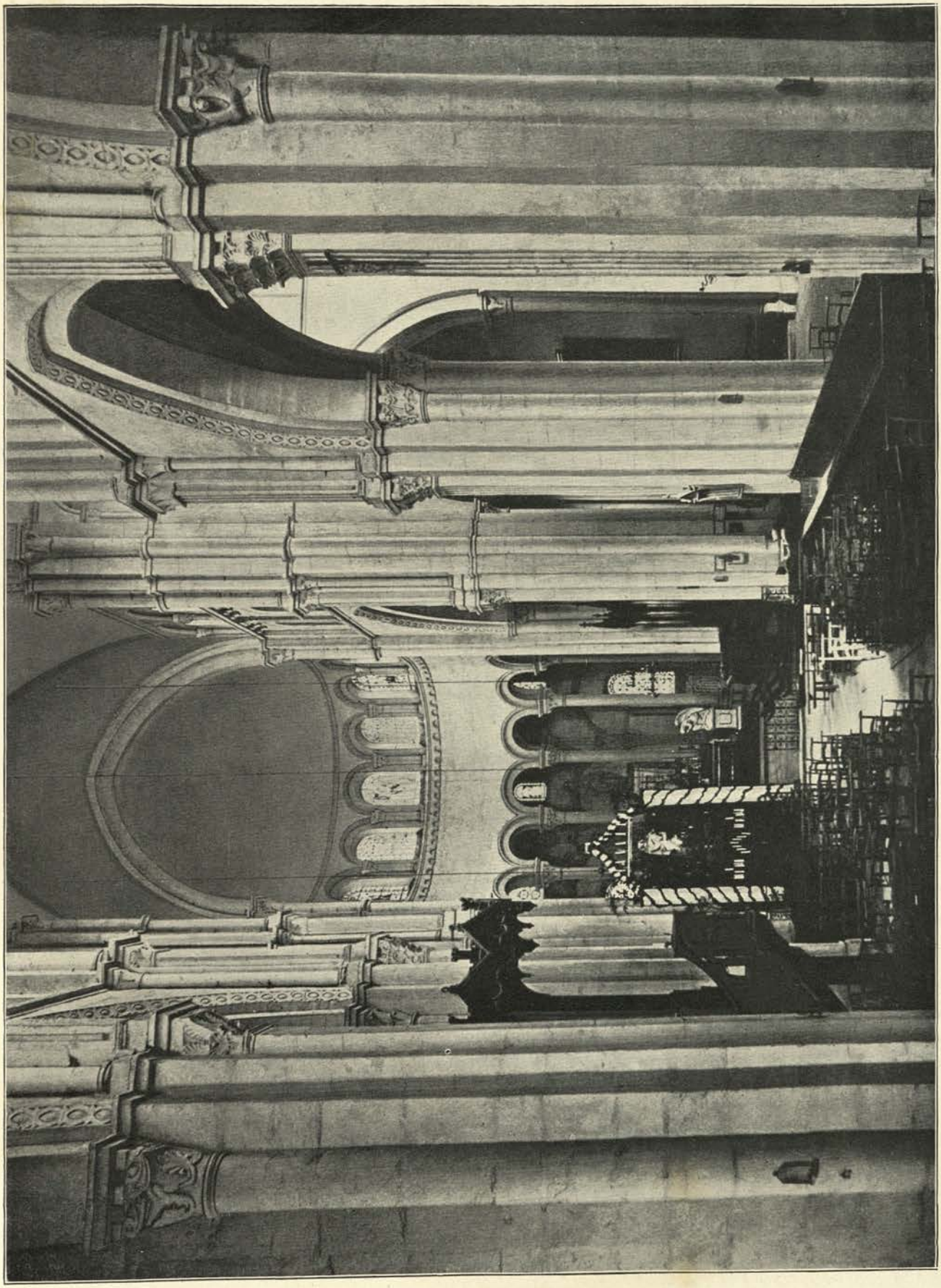
Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Portico

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Interior of the Portico

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, View from South-East

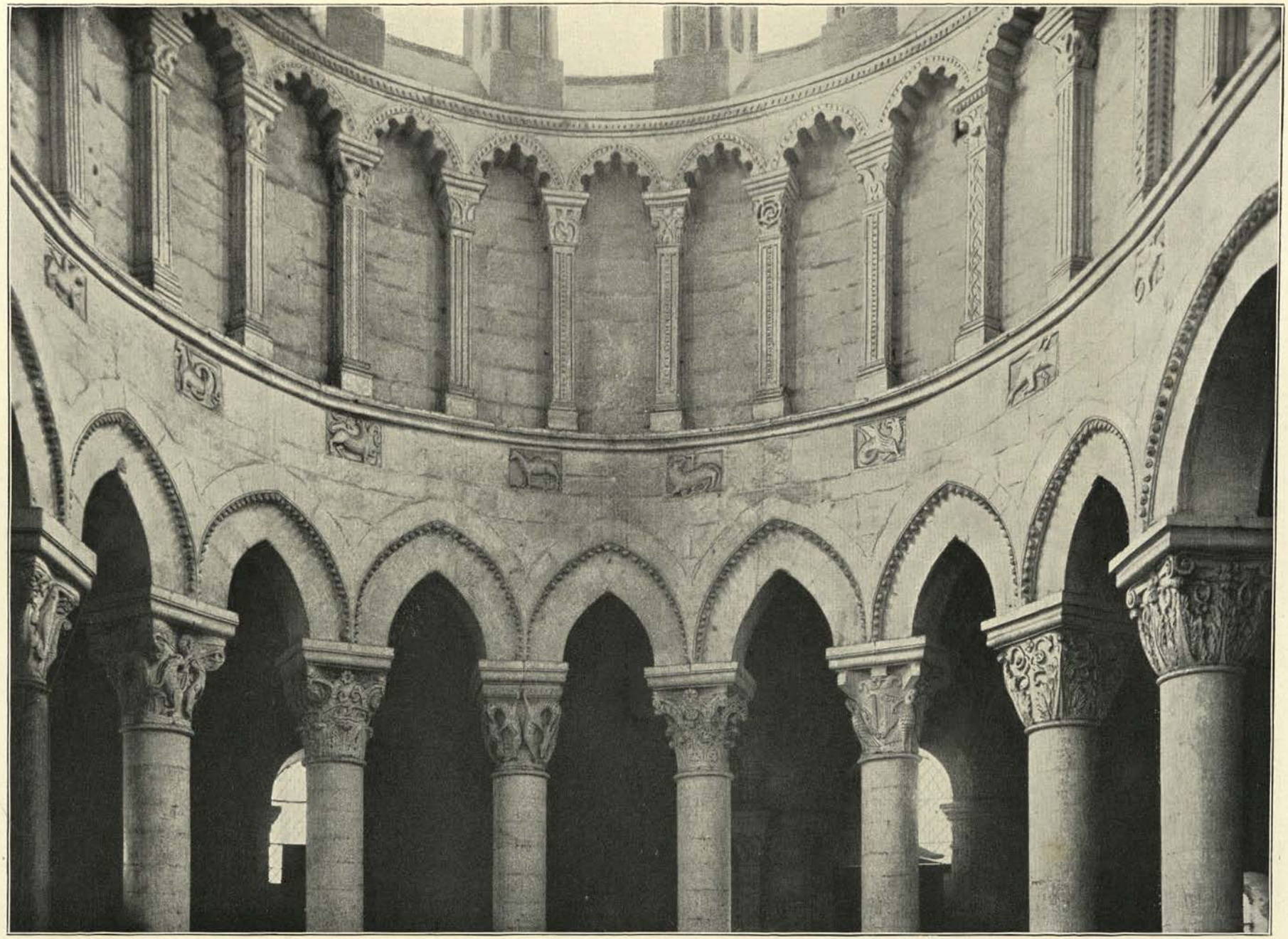


Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Ambulatory, View from the East

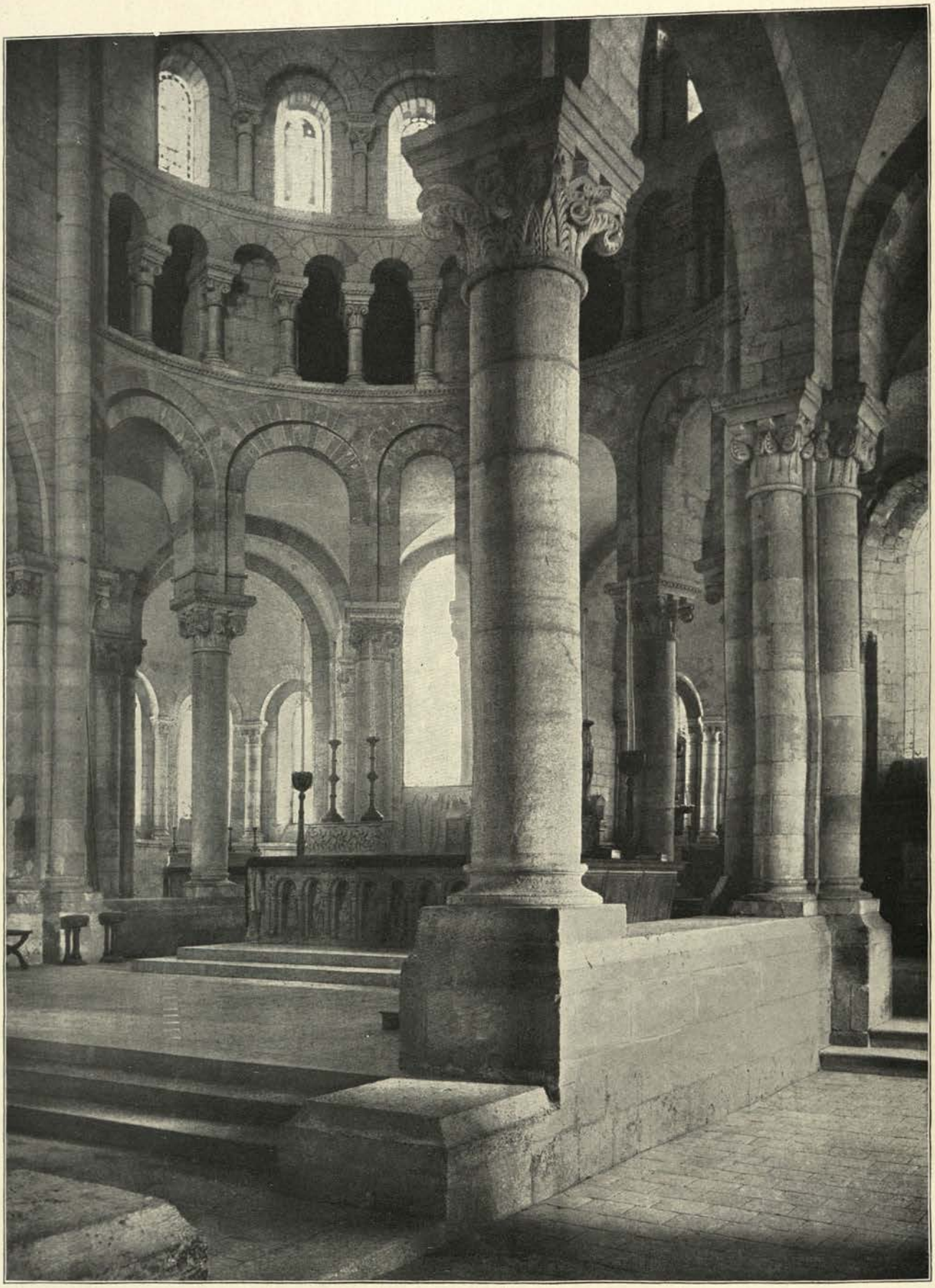


Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire). Church, Nave, View from the Entrance

Saint-Genou (Indre). Church, View from the Entrance



Le Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Interior of the Chancel



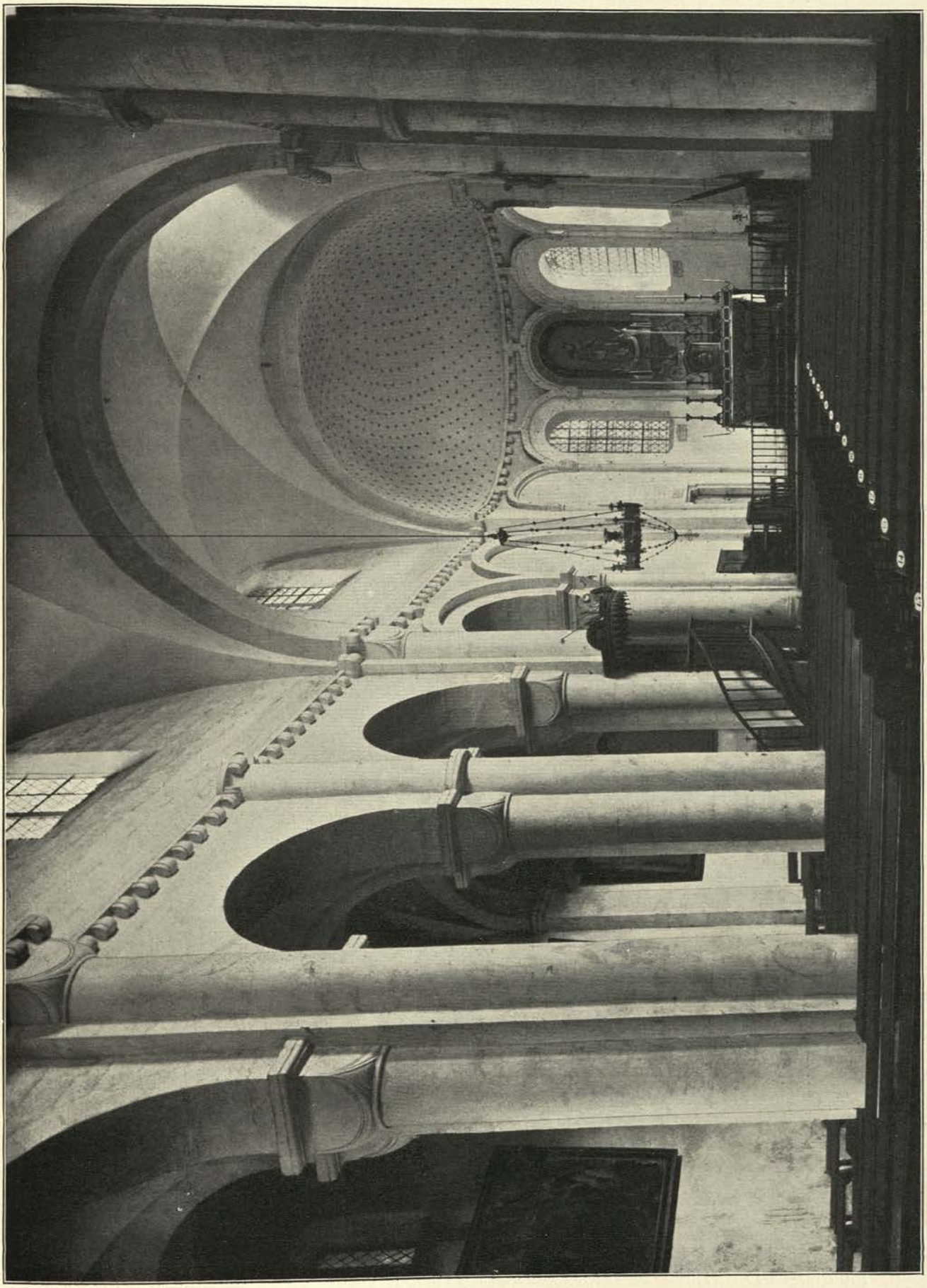
Fontgombault (Indre). Church, Chancel

Vézelay (Yonne). Sainte-Madeleine, South Aisle

Fontgombault (Indre). Church, West Portal

Bellegarde (Loiret). Church, Detail of the West Portal

Saint-Martin-le-Beau (Indre-et-Loire). Church, West Portal



Saint-Dié (Vosges). Notre-Dame, Nave, View from the Entrance

Montier-en-Der (Haute-Marne). Church (960—992), Nave, View from the Entrance

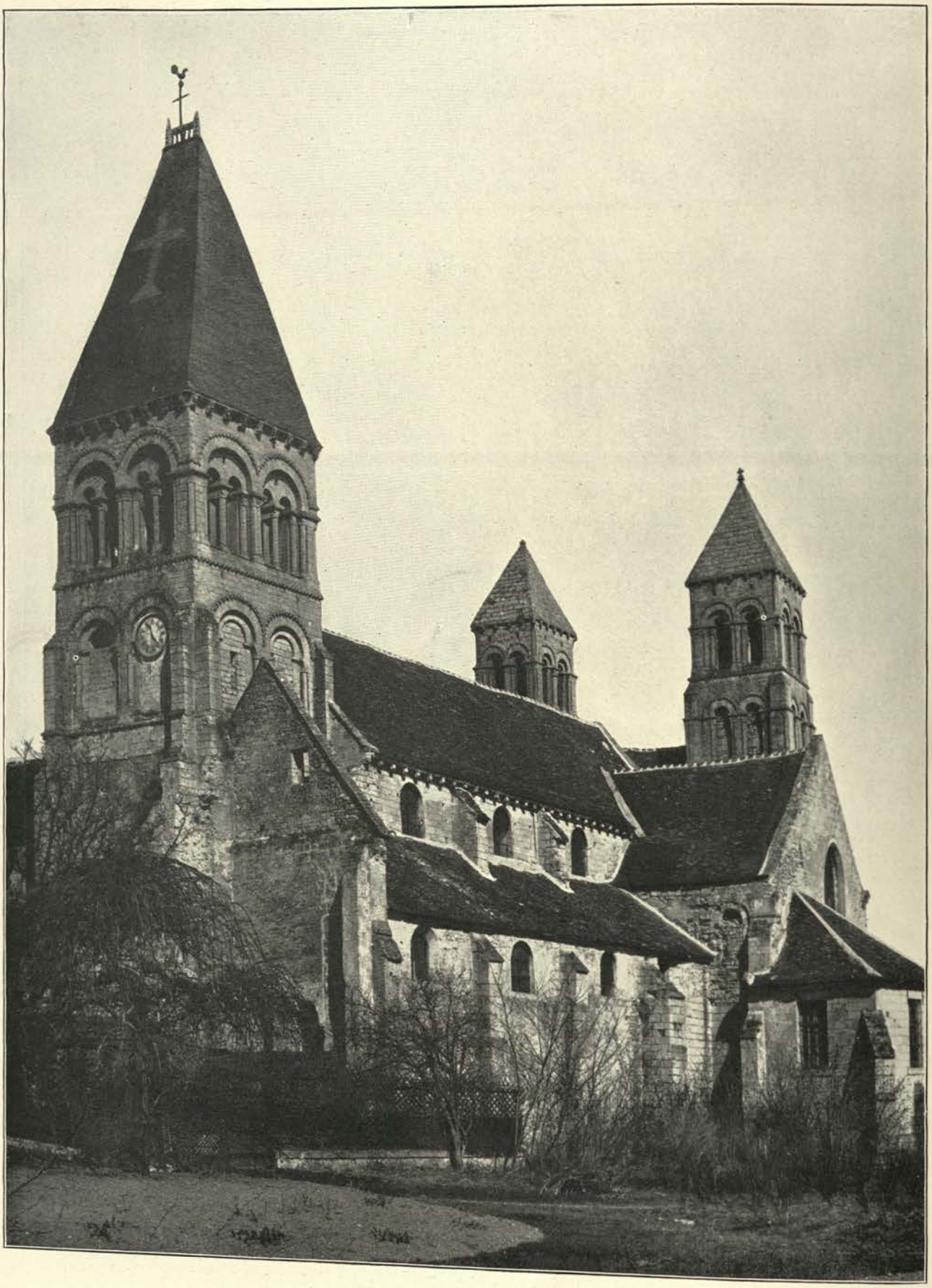
Vignory (Haute-Marne). Church (consecrated in 1050), Nave, View from the Entrance

Reims (Marne). Saint-Remi (1005—1049), Nave, View from the Chancel

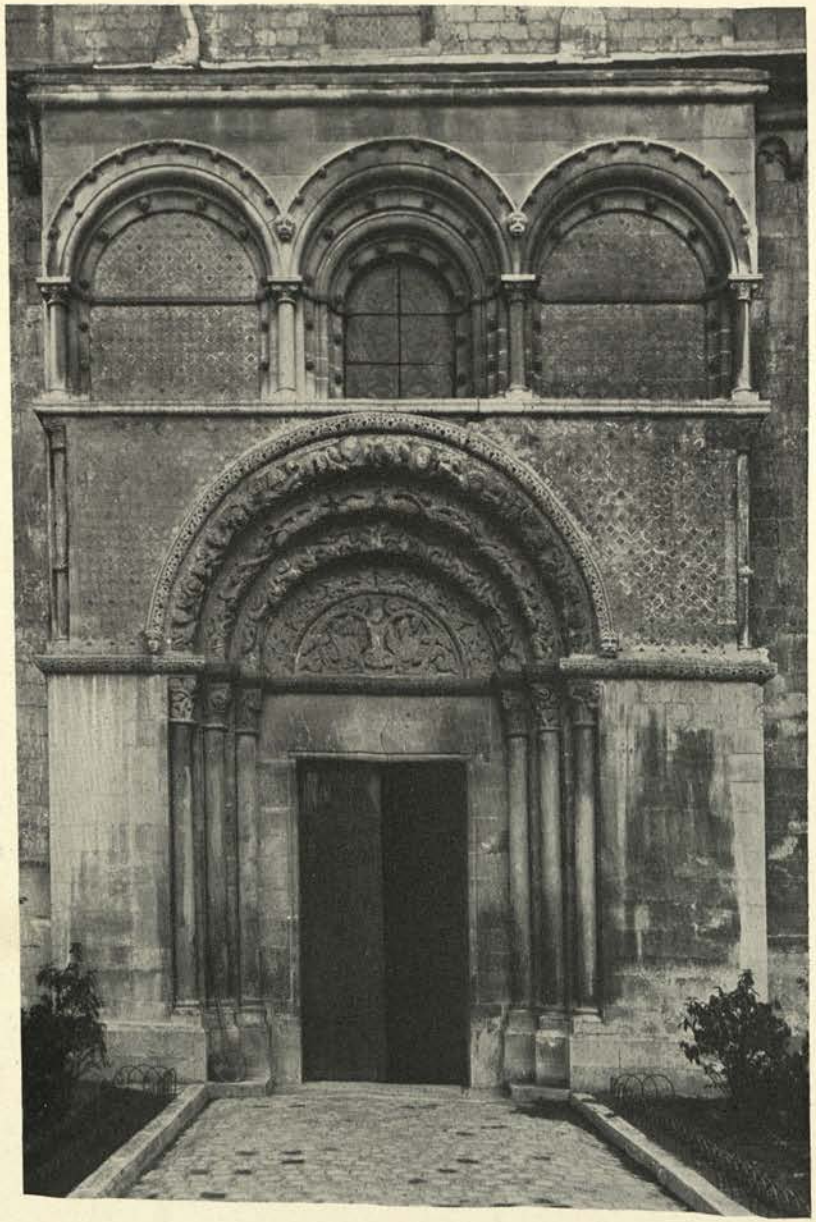
Le Mans (Sarthe). Cathedral, (Nave 1060—1093), View from the Entrance

Morienval (Oise). Notre-Dame, North Aisle

Morienval (Oise). Notre-Dame, Nave, View from the Chancel



Morienval (Oise). Notre-Dame, View from South-West



Beauvais (Oise). Saint-Étienne, North Transept. - Beauvais (Oise). Saint-Étienne, South Aisle, Portal

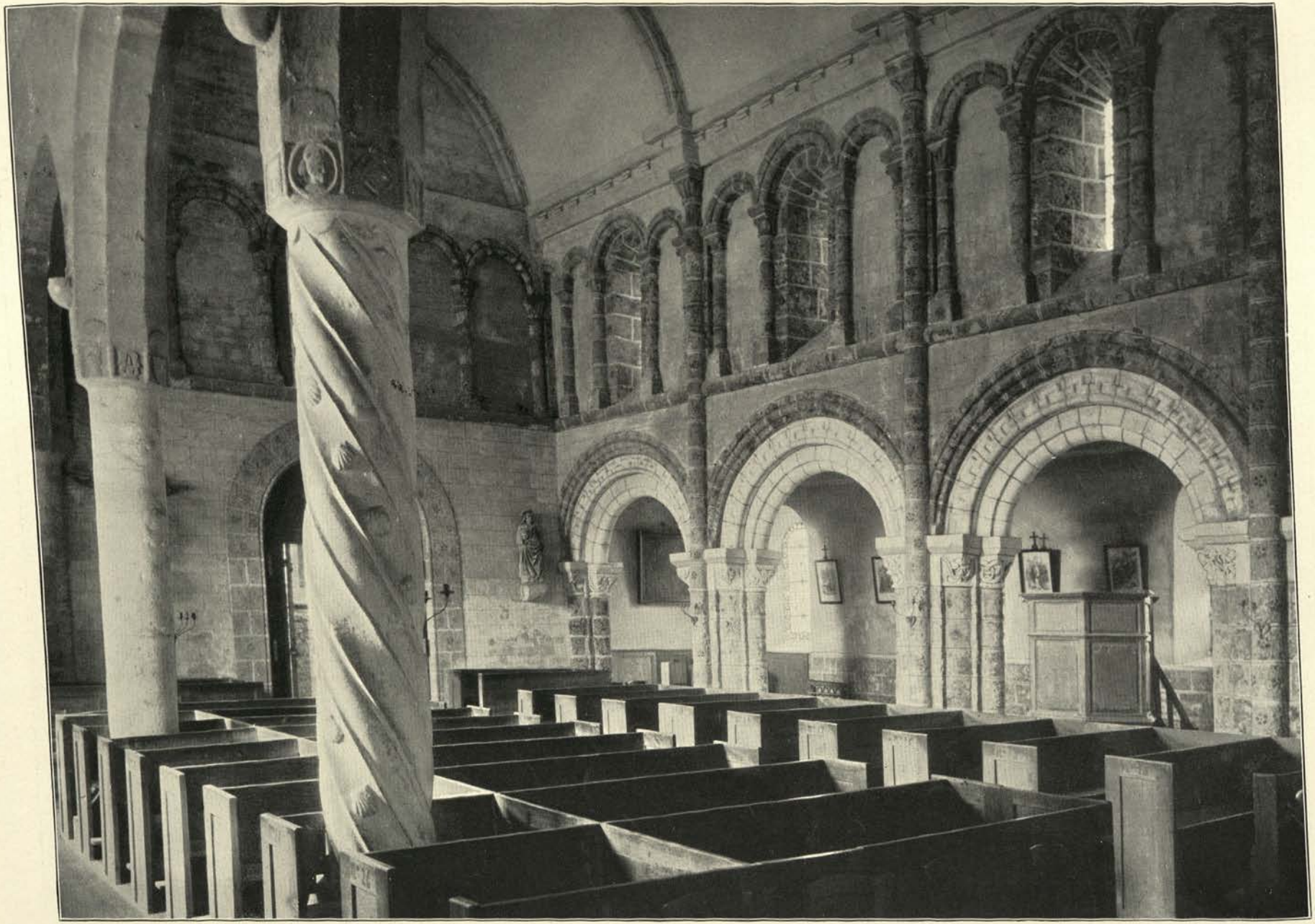
Urcel (Aisne). Church, Parvis

Cauroy (Marne). Church, from South West

Gassicourt (Seine-et-Oise). Church, West Portal

Saint-Denis (Seine). Crypt of the Church (1140)

Trie-Château (Oise). Church, Detail from the West Portal

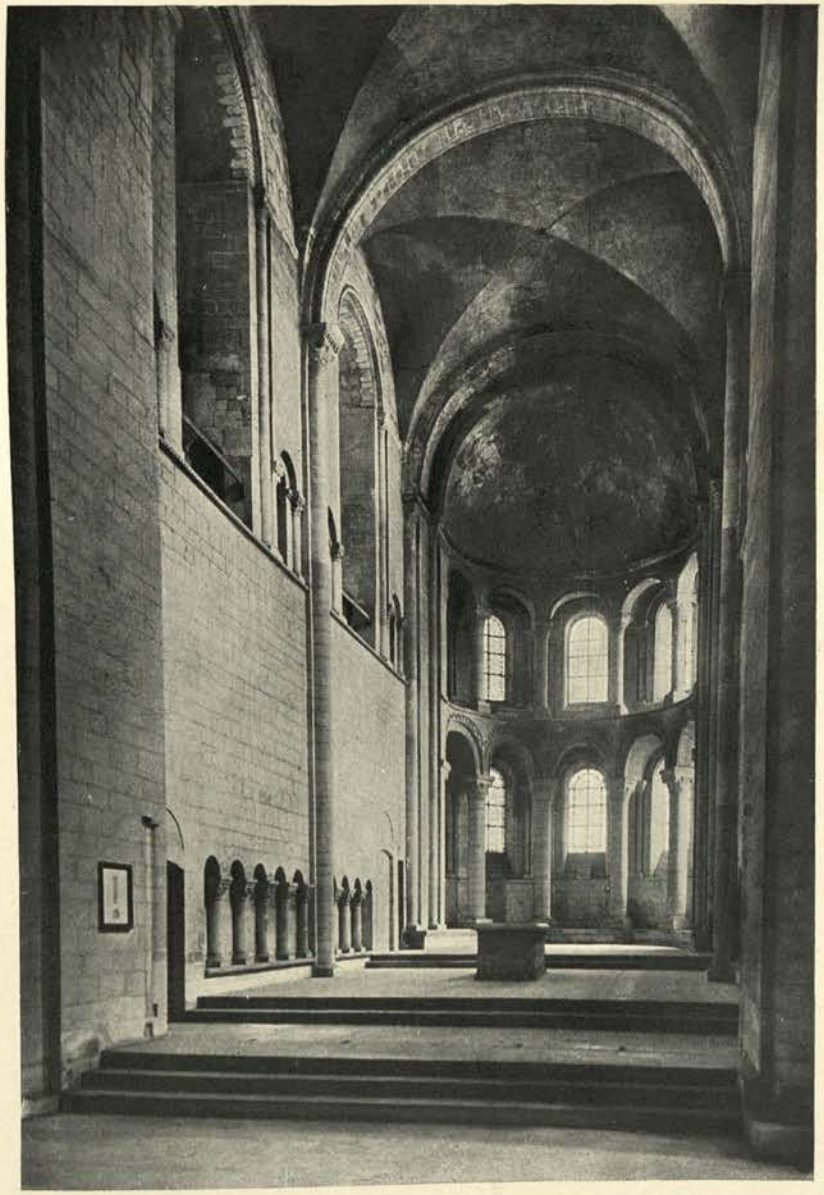


Sainte-Marguerite (Seine-Inférieure). Church, Interior, View towards the Entrance

Manéglise (Seine-Inférieure). Church, South Aisle

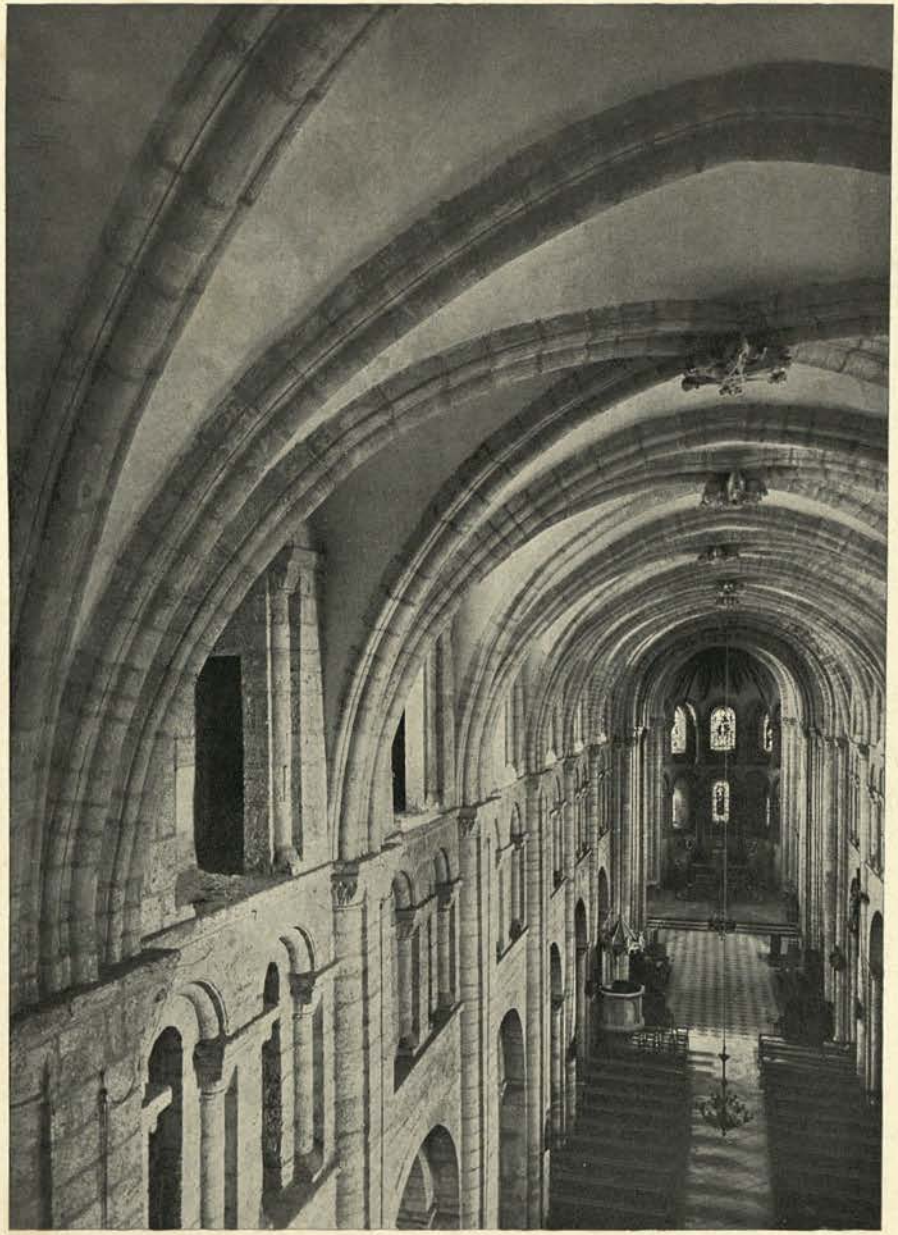
Jumièges (Seine-Inférieure). Abbey Church (begun after 1040, Nave 1052—1067), Interior, View from the East

Mont-Saint-Michel (Manche). Abbey Church (about 1060), Interior, View from the West



Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité (1062—1072), Chancel. - Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité, South Transept, South-West Corner

Lessay (Manche). Abbey Church, South Aisle, View from the Entrance



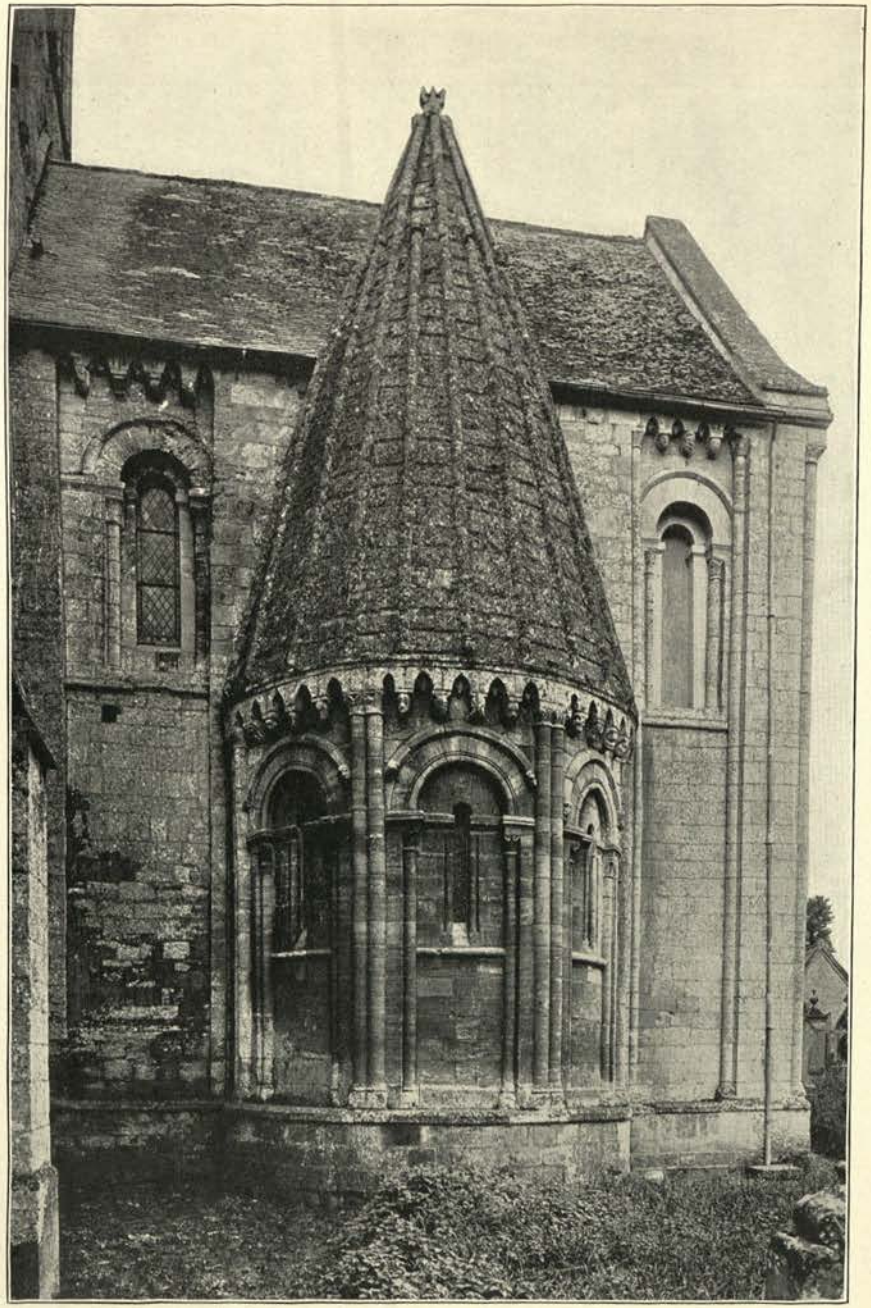
Lessay (Manche). Abbey Church, Middle Aisle, View from the West. - Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité, Crossing

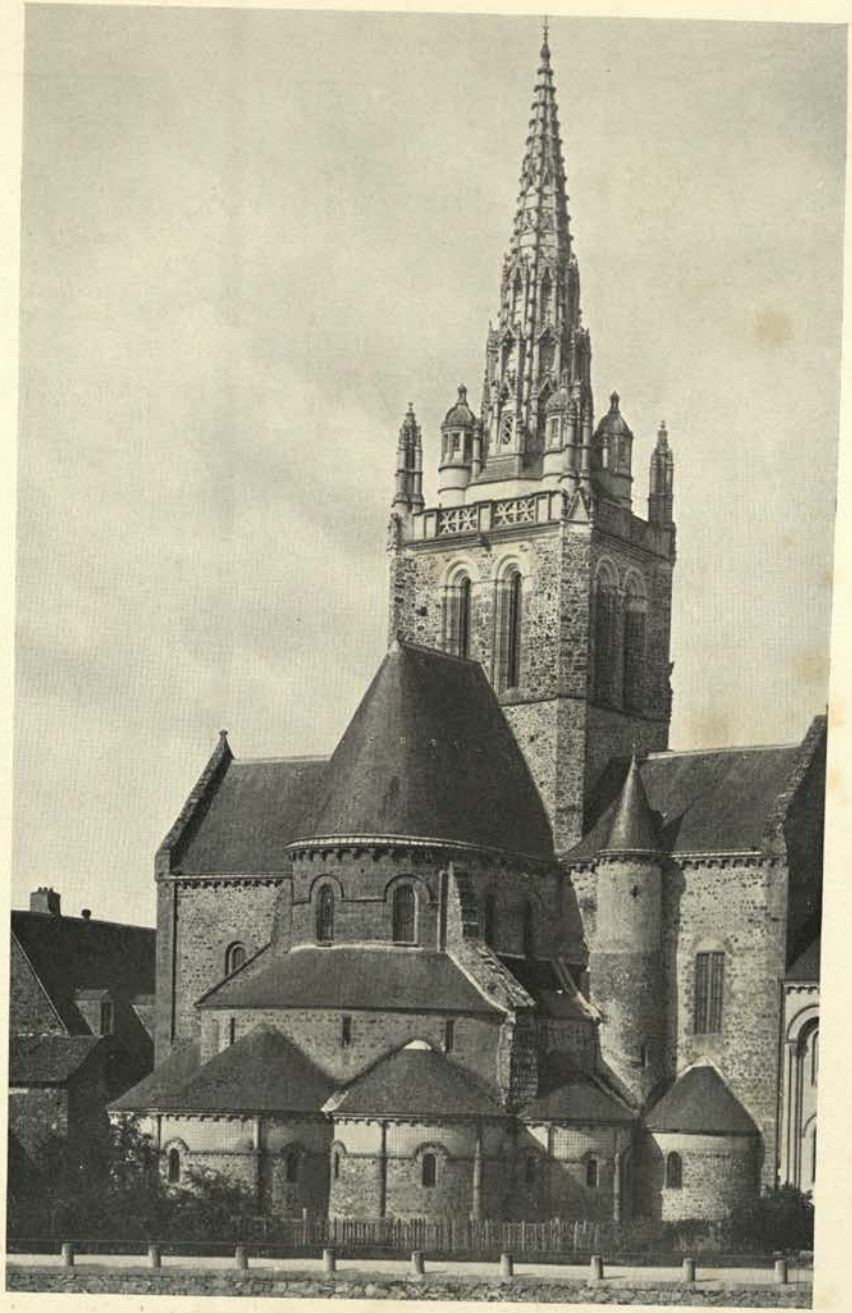
ROYAL

Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité (1062—1072), Interior, View from the Entrance

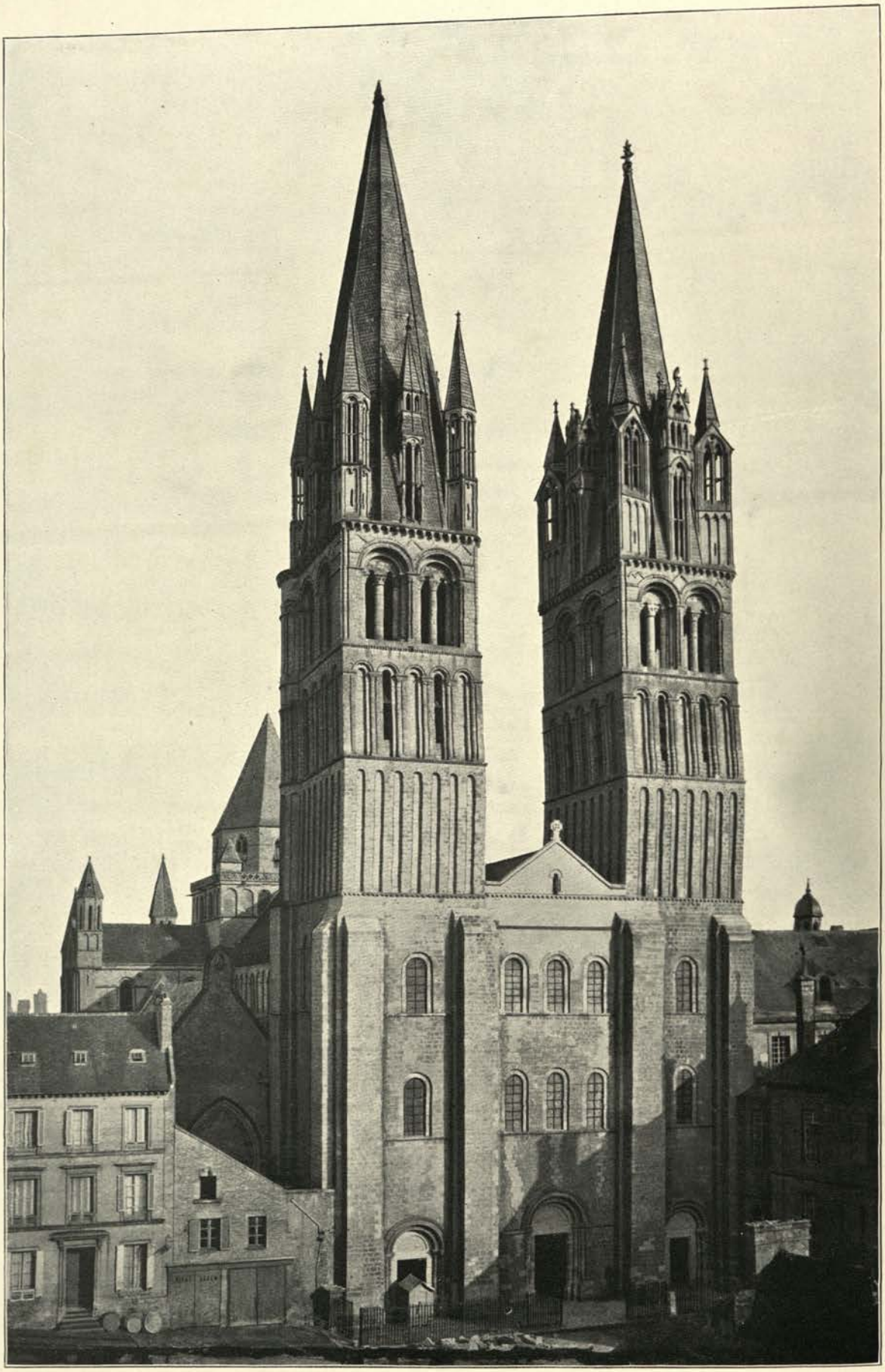
Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité (1062—1072), View from South-East

Bernières (Calvados). Notre-Dame, Interior (about 1150)



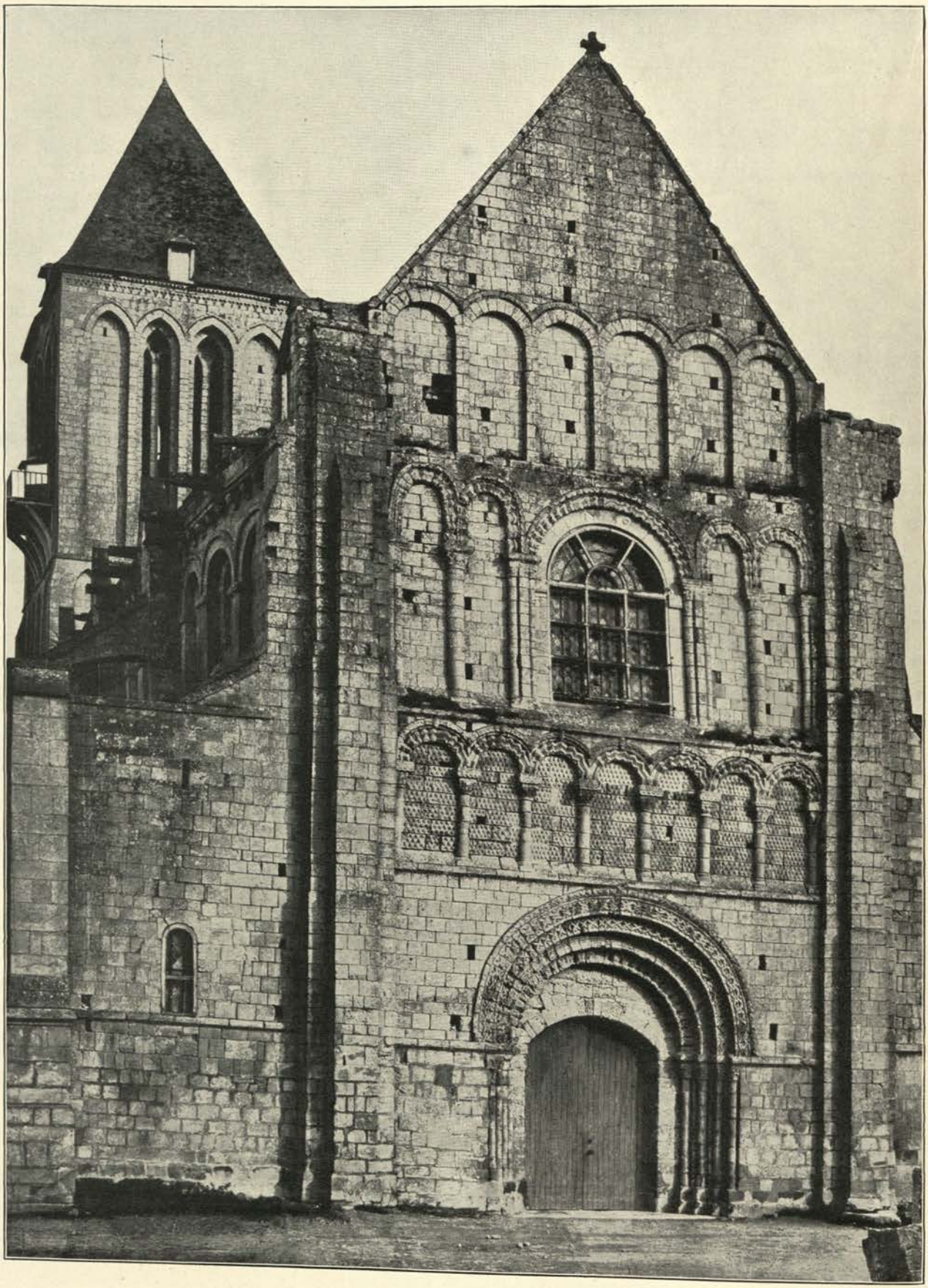


Audrieu (Calvados). Saint-Jean, Apse of the North Transept. - Avesnières (Mayenne). Church, View from the East



Caen (Calvados). Saint-Étienne (1064—1081), View from the West

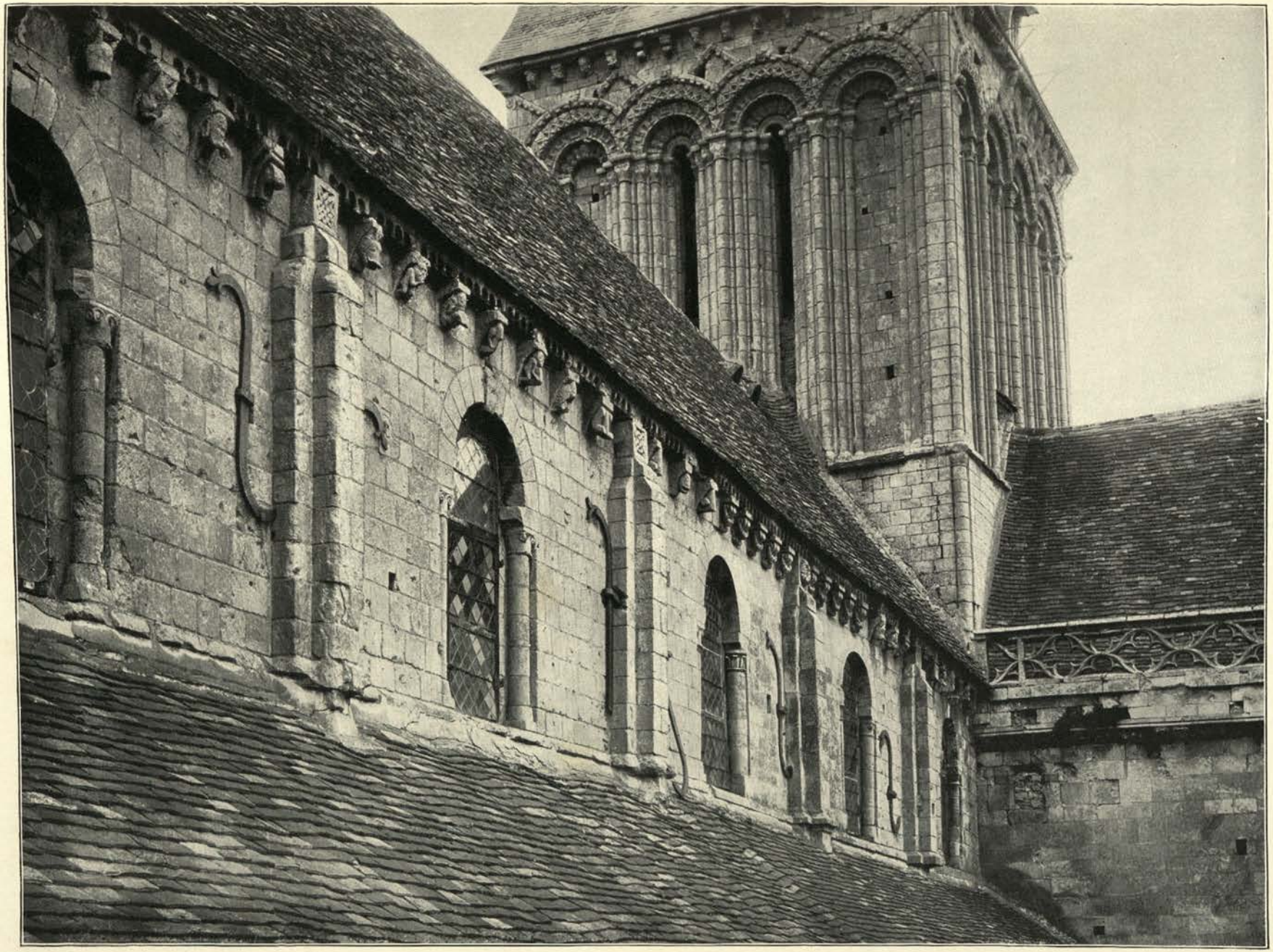
Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville (Seine-Inférieure). Saint-Georges, West Front (about 1100)



Ouistreham (Calvados). Church, West Front

Mouen (Calvados). Saint Malo, View from North-West

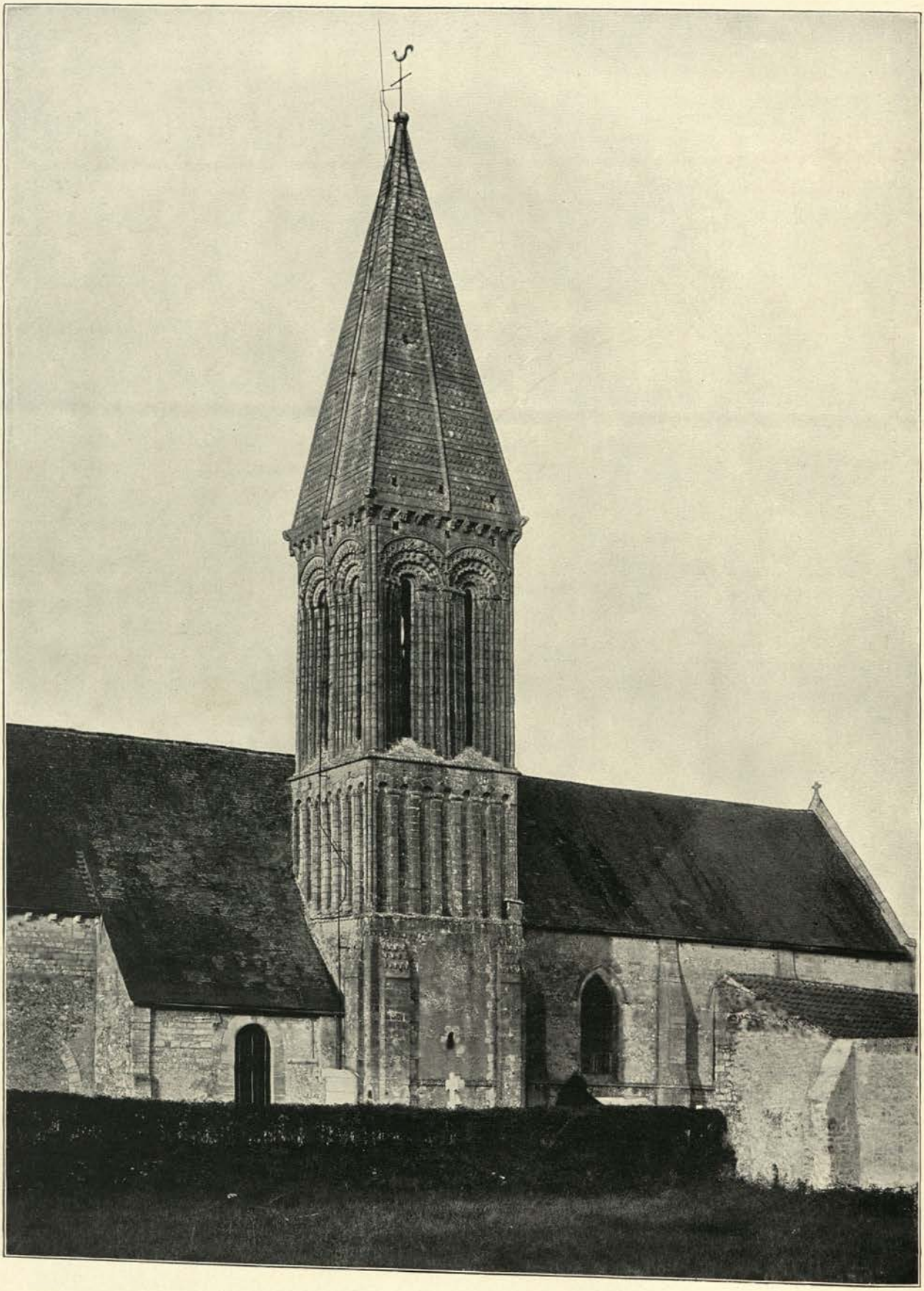
Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville (Seine-Inférieure). Saint-Georges (about 1070—1100), View from South-East



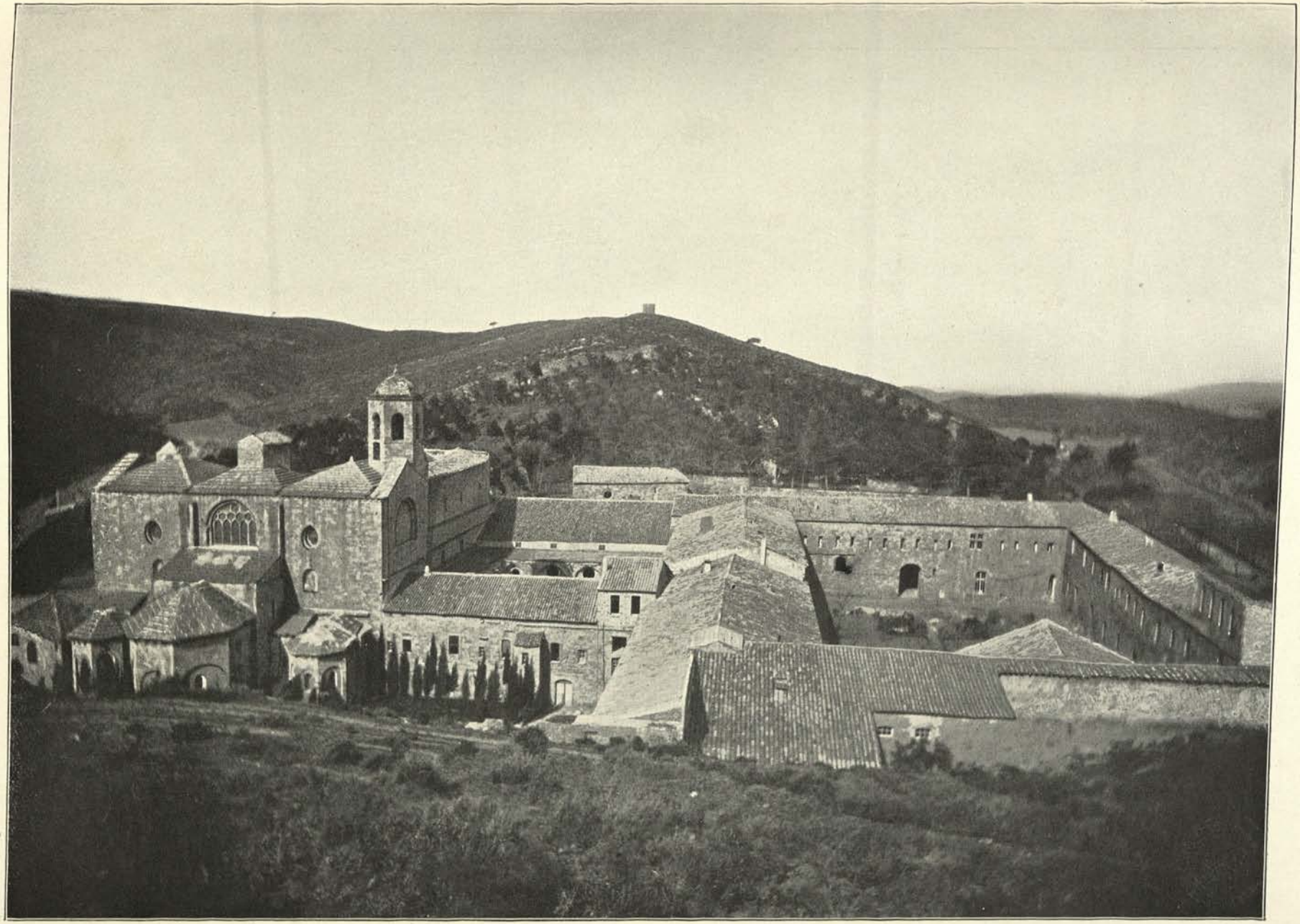
Falaise (Calvados). Saint-Gervais (about 1080), Nave, South Side, and Tower over the Crossing

Cintheaux (Calvados). Church, South End

Viennes (Calvados). Church, South Portal. - Audrieu (Calvados). Saint-Jean, Portal of the South Transept



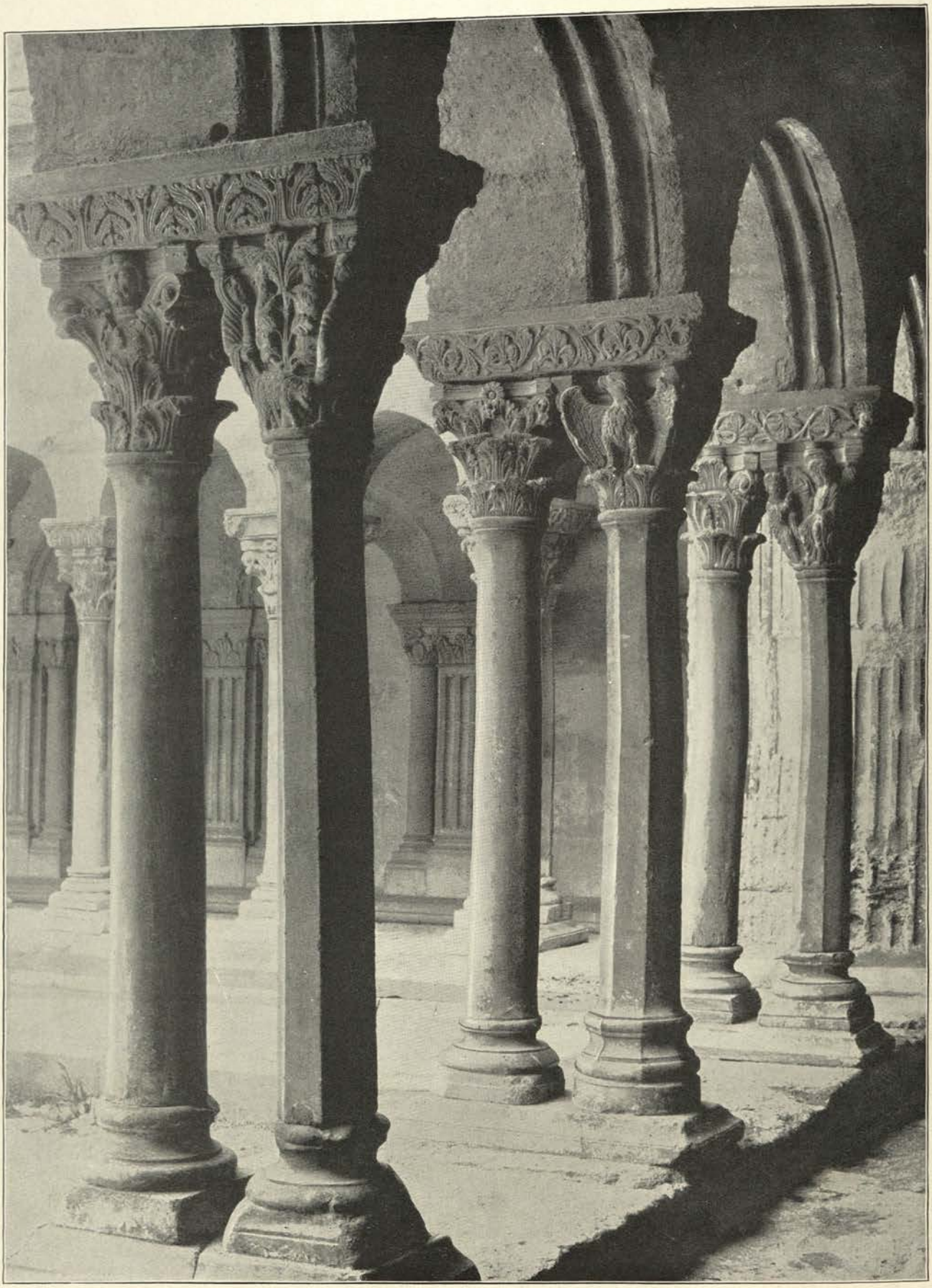
Bayeux (Calvados). Saint-Loup, South-East End



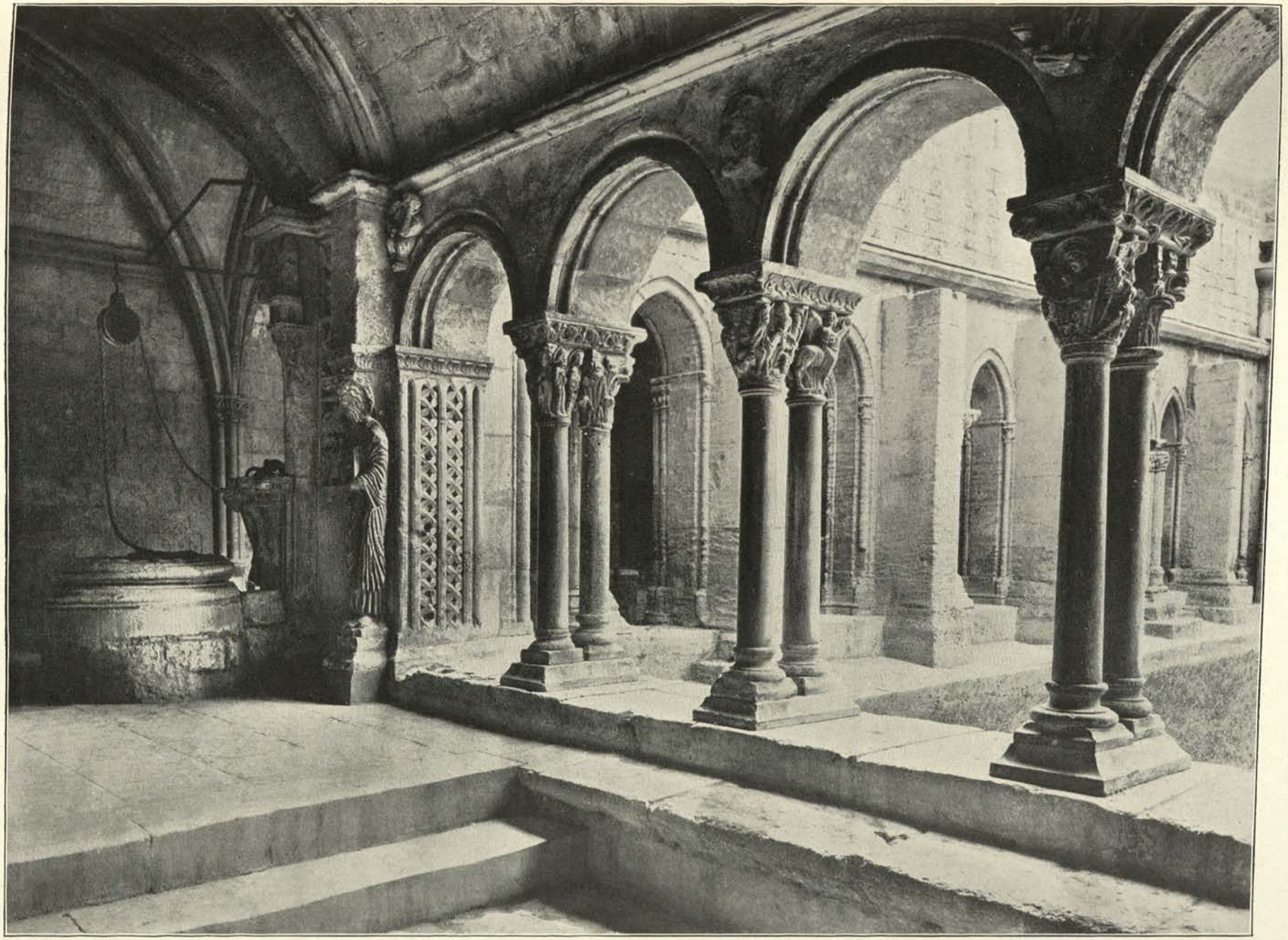
Fontfroide (Aude). Abbey, View from the East

Aix (Bouches-du-Rhône). Cathedral of Saint-Sauveur, Cloister

Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophîme, Cloister, East wing (after 1200)

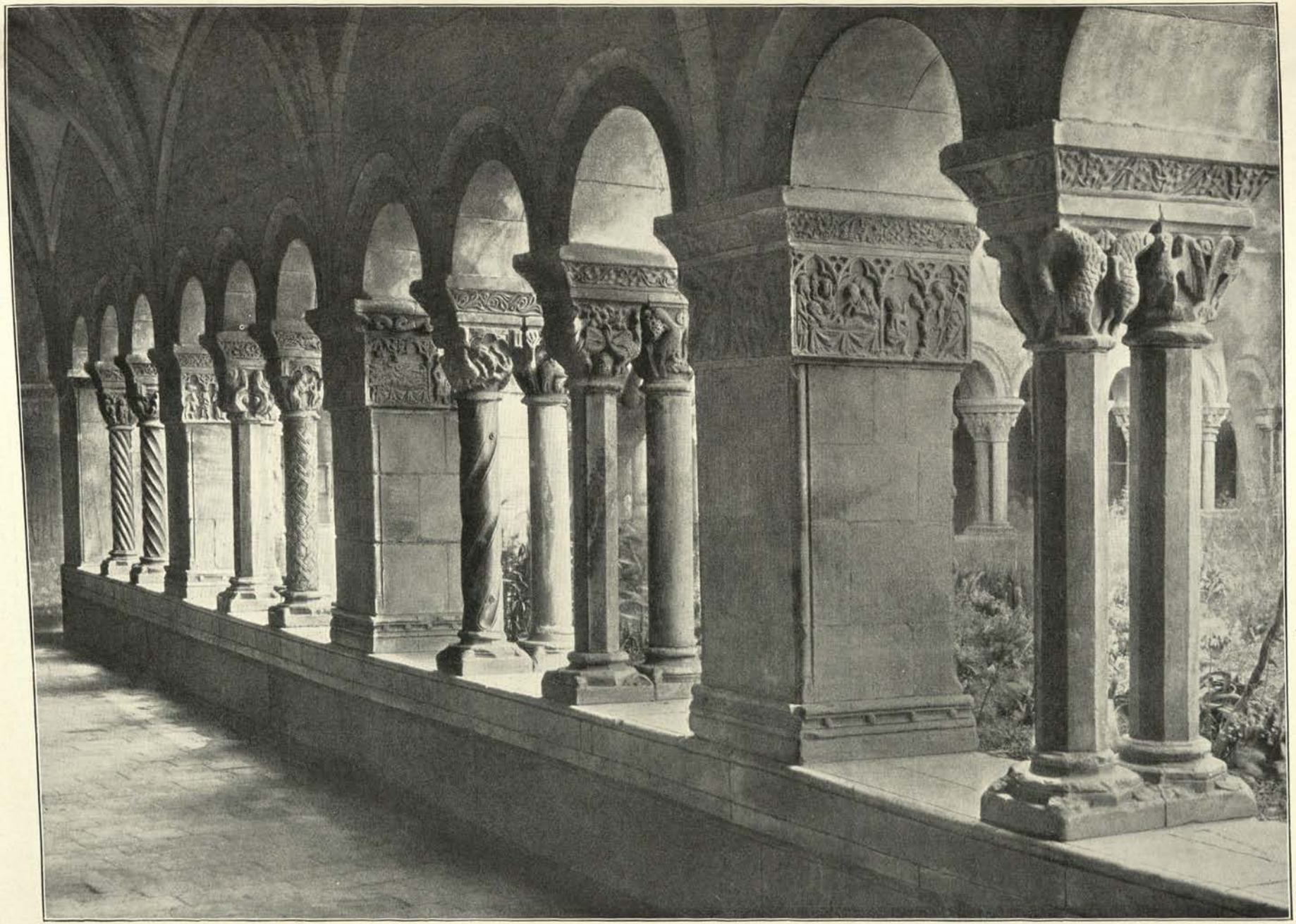


Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophime, Cloister, North wing



Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophîme, Cloister, South East corner

Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales). Cathedral of Sainte-Eulalie, Cloister, South wing (1175)

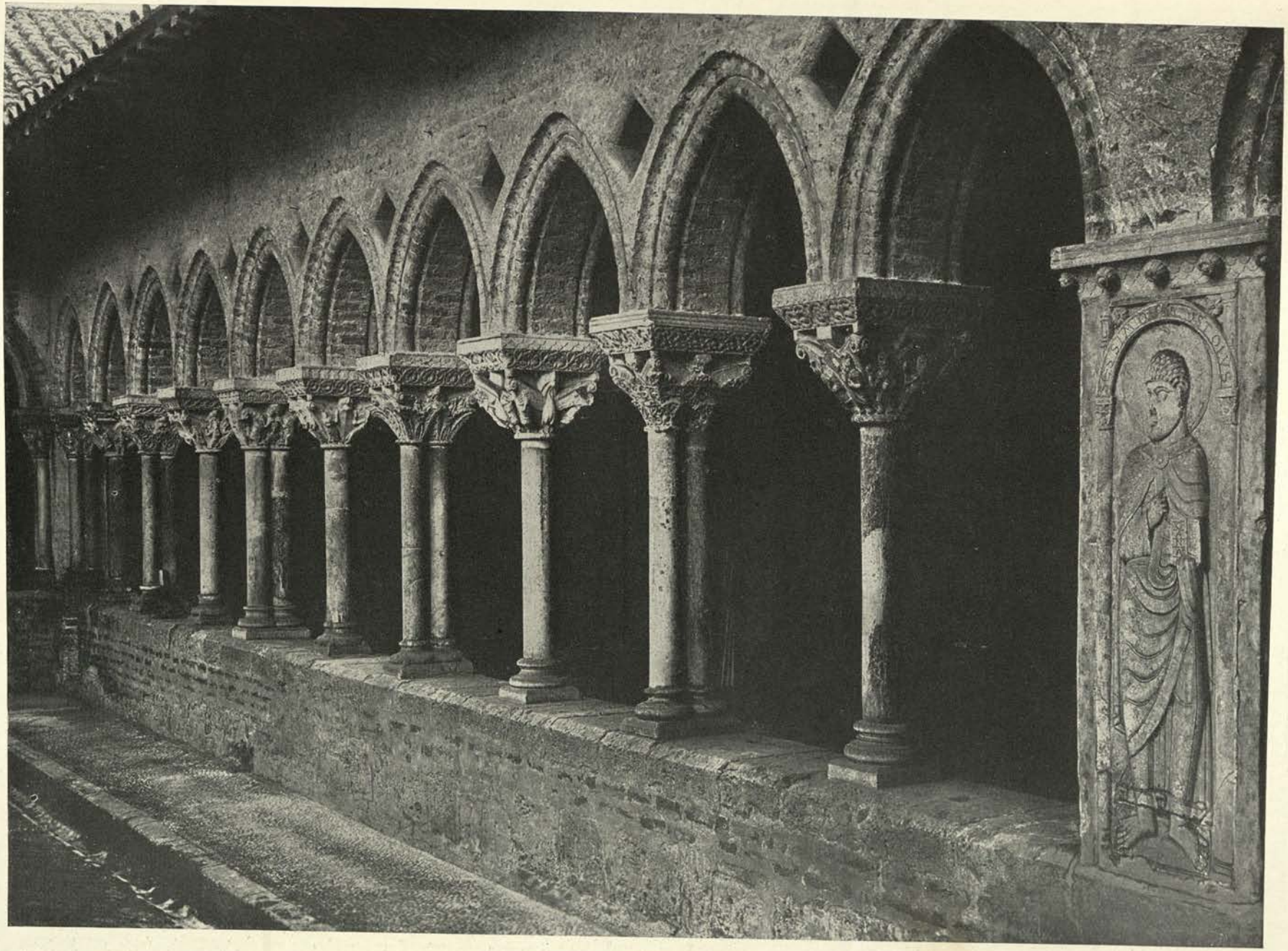


Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales). Cathedral of Sainte-Eulalie, Cloister, East wing (1175, later restored)

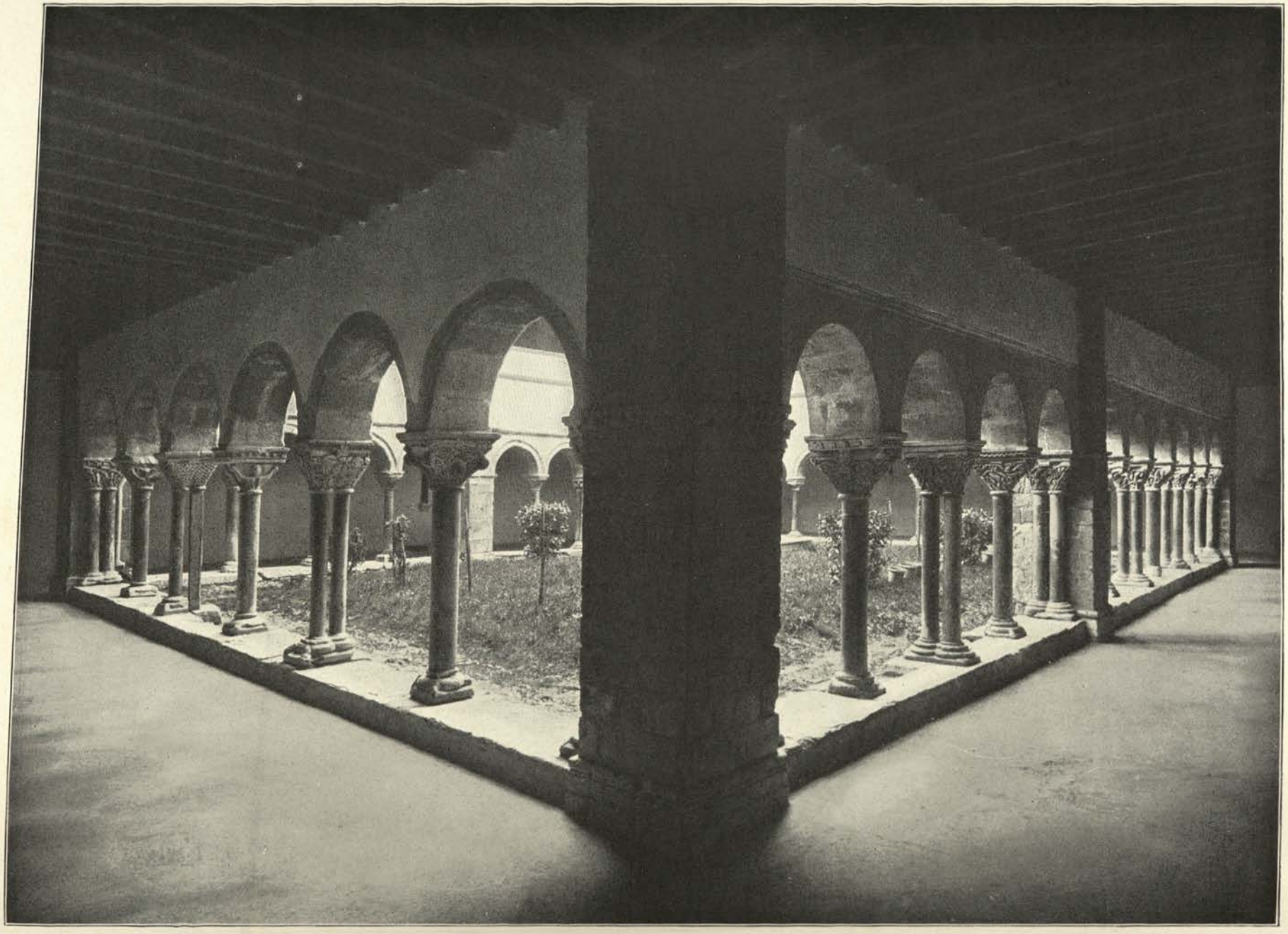
Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Cloister

Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Cloister

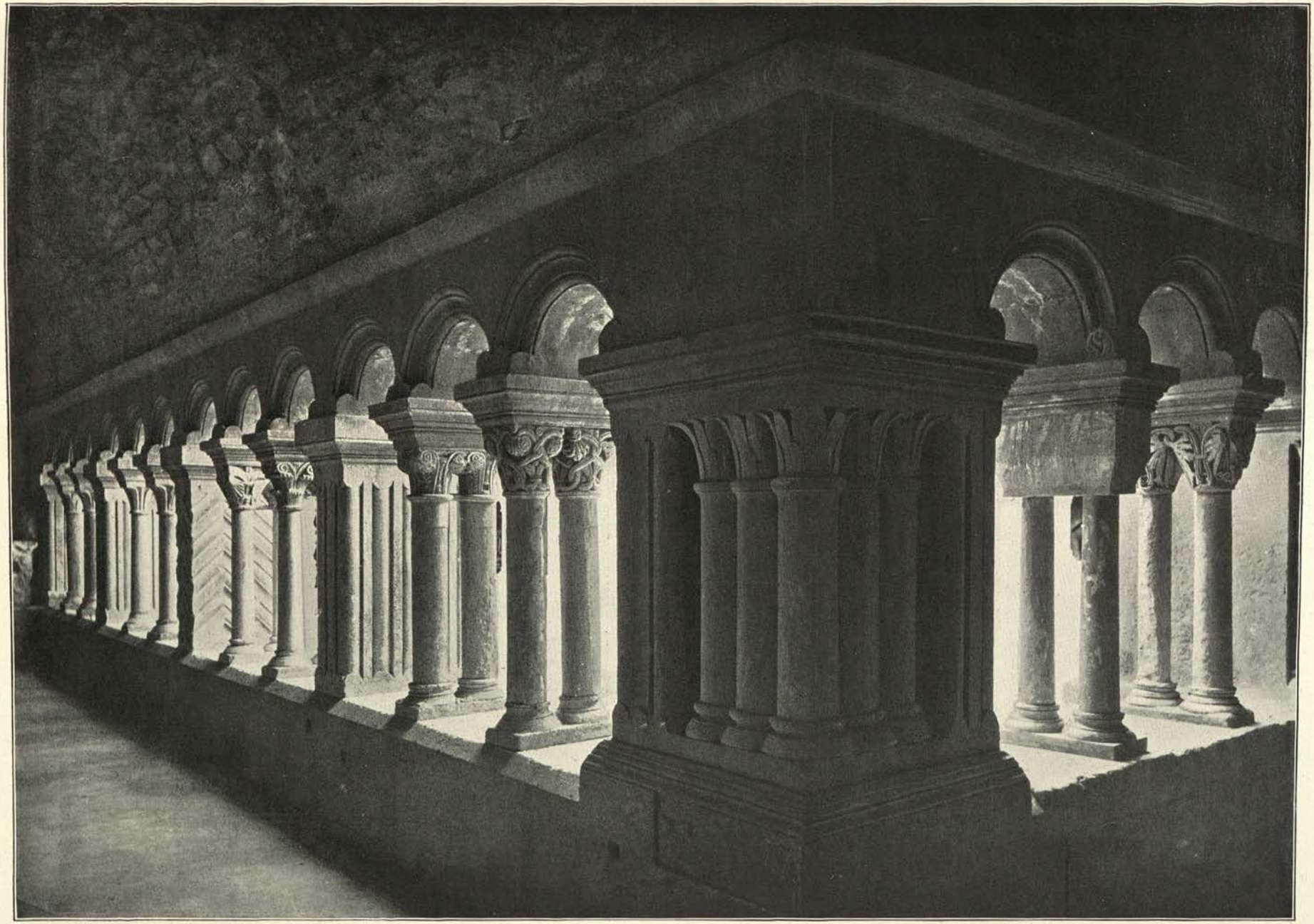
Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, Cloister, East wing (after 1188, with Remains of 1100)



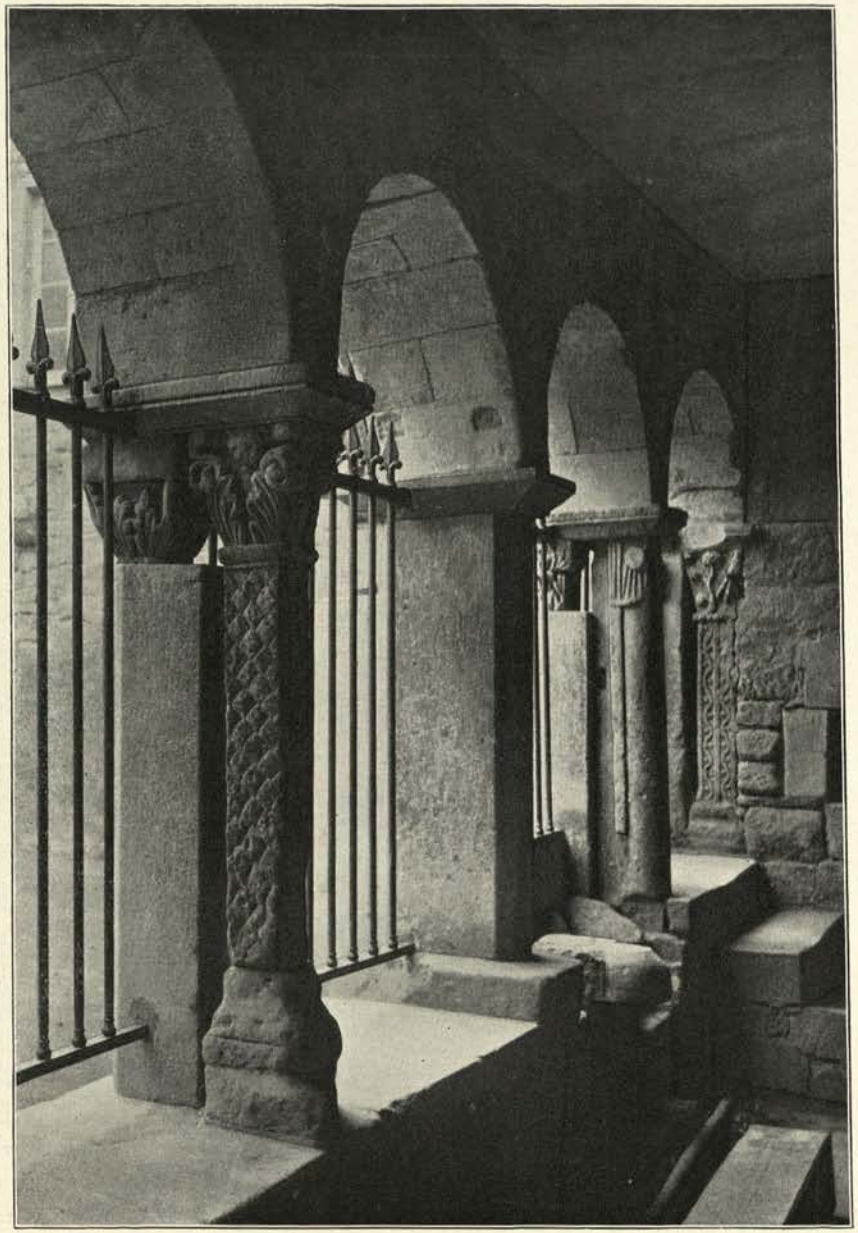
Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, Cloister, West wing (after 1188, with Remains of 1100)



Saint-Lizier (Ariège). Cathedral, Cloister



Vaison (Vaucluse). Cloister of the Cathedral

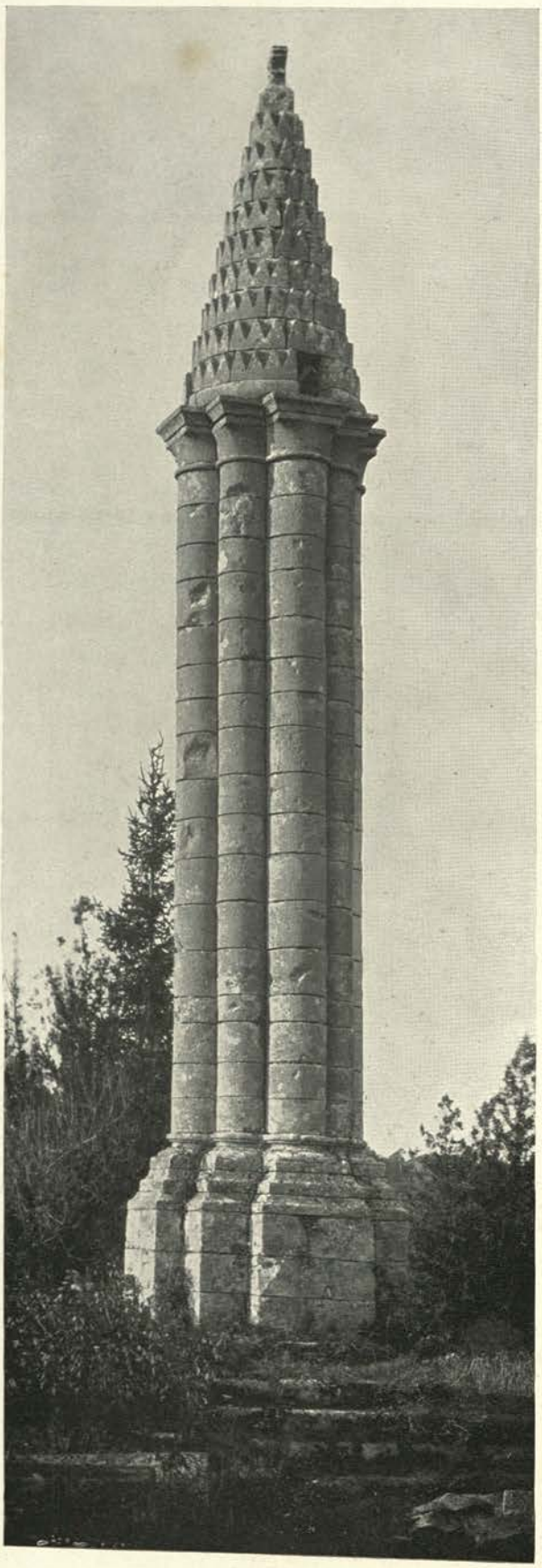


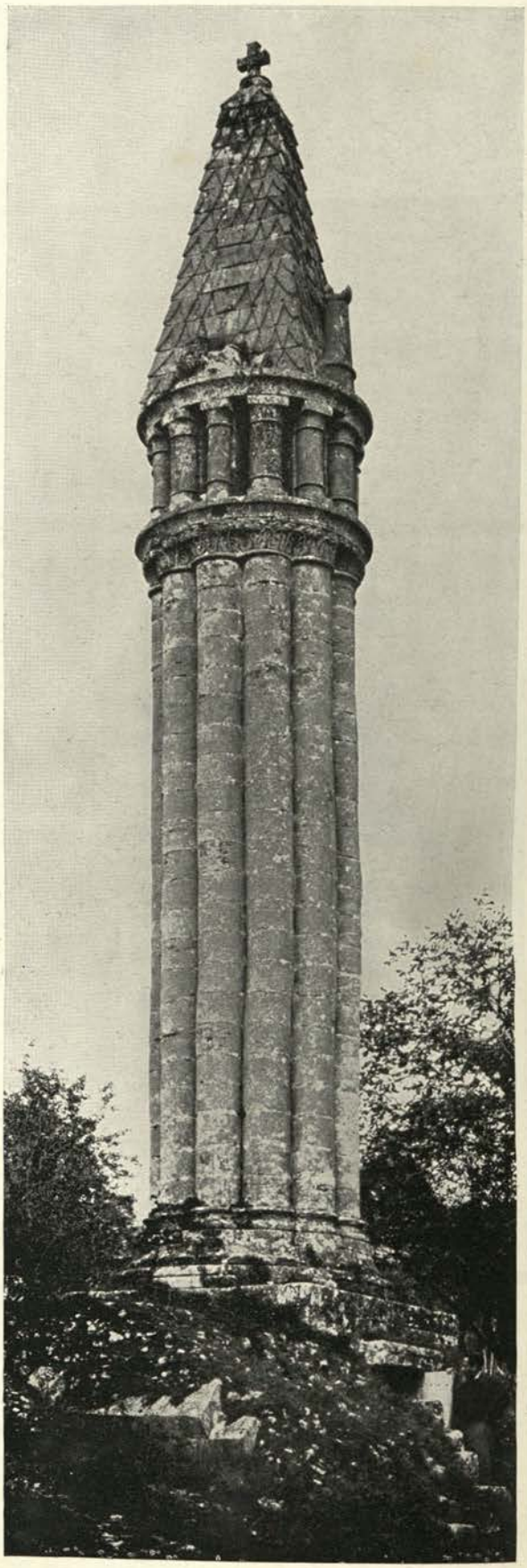
Saint-Donat (Drôme). Church, Cloister. - Saint-Donat (Drôme). Church, Cloister

Le Puy (Haute-Loire). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Cloister with North side of the Nave

Angers (Maine-et-Loire). Saint-Aubin, Detail of the Cloister

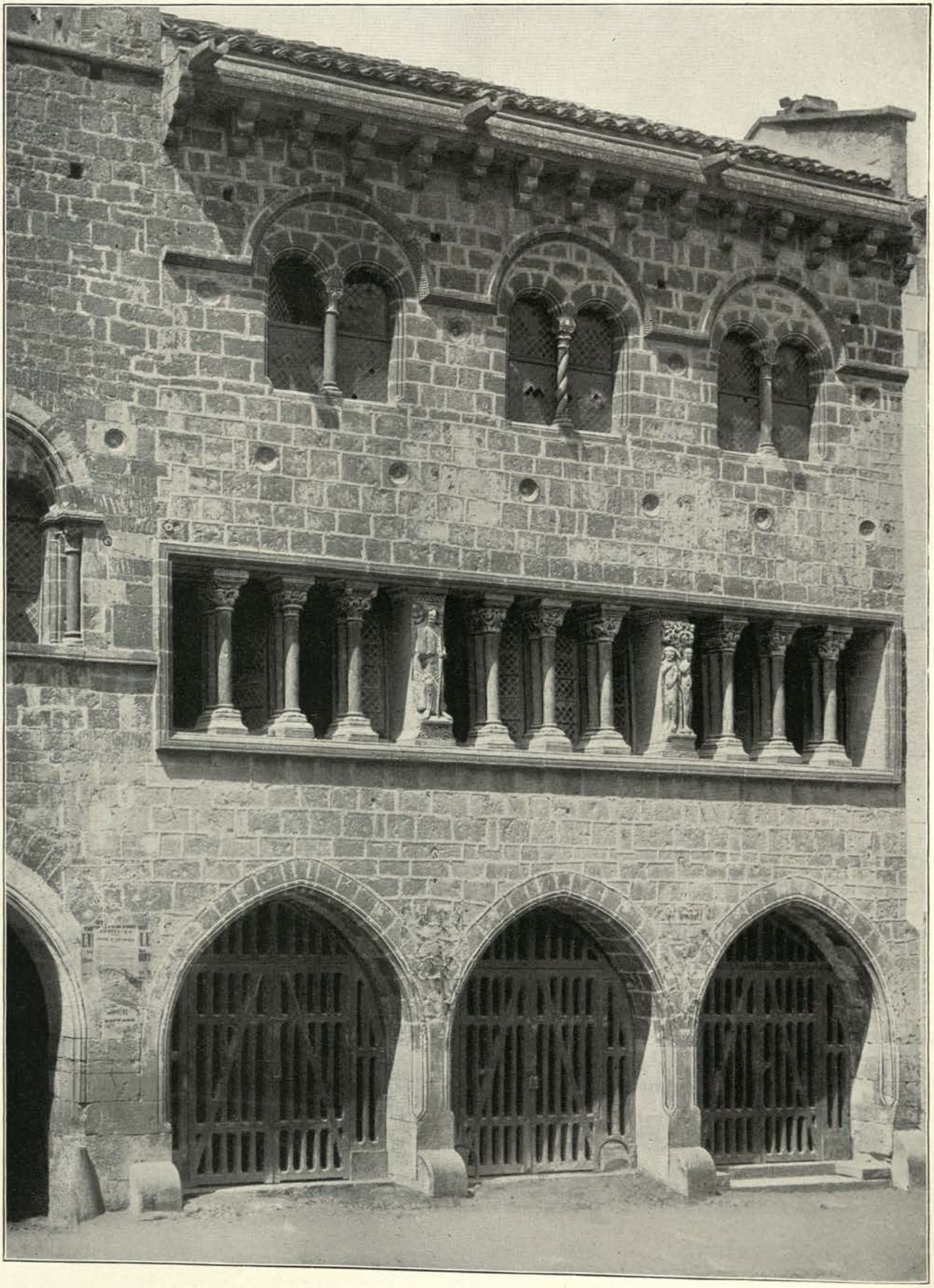
Tulle (Corrèze). Saint-Martin, Chapter-house



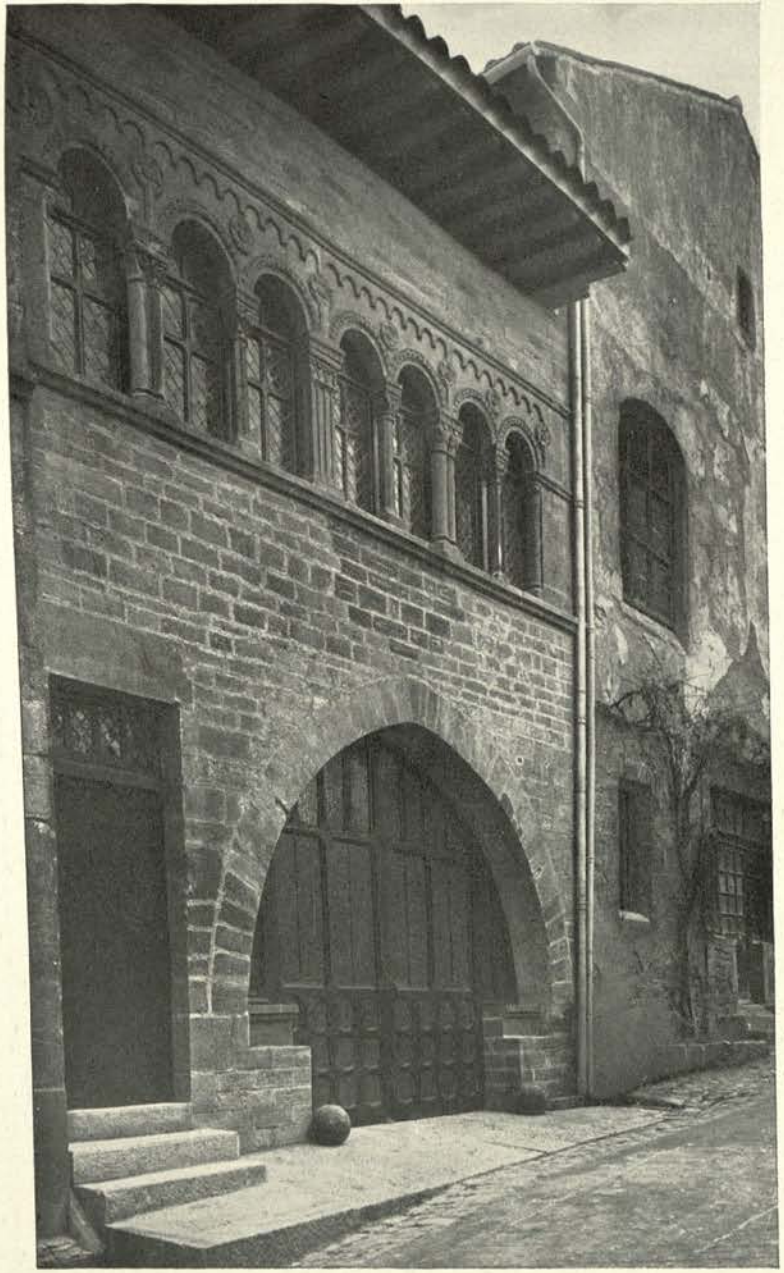


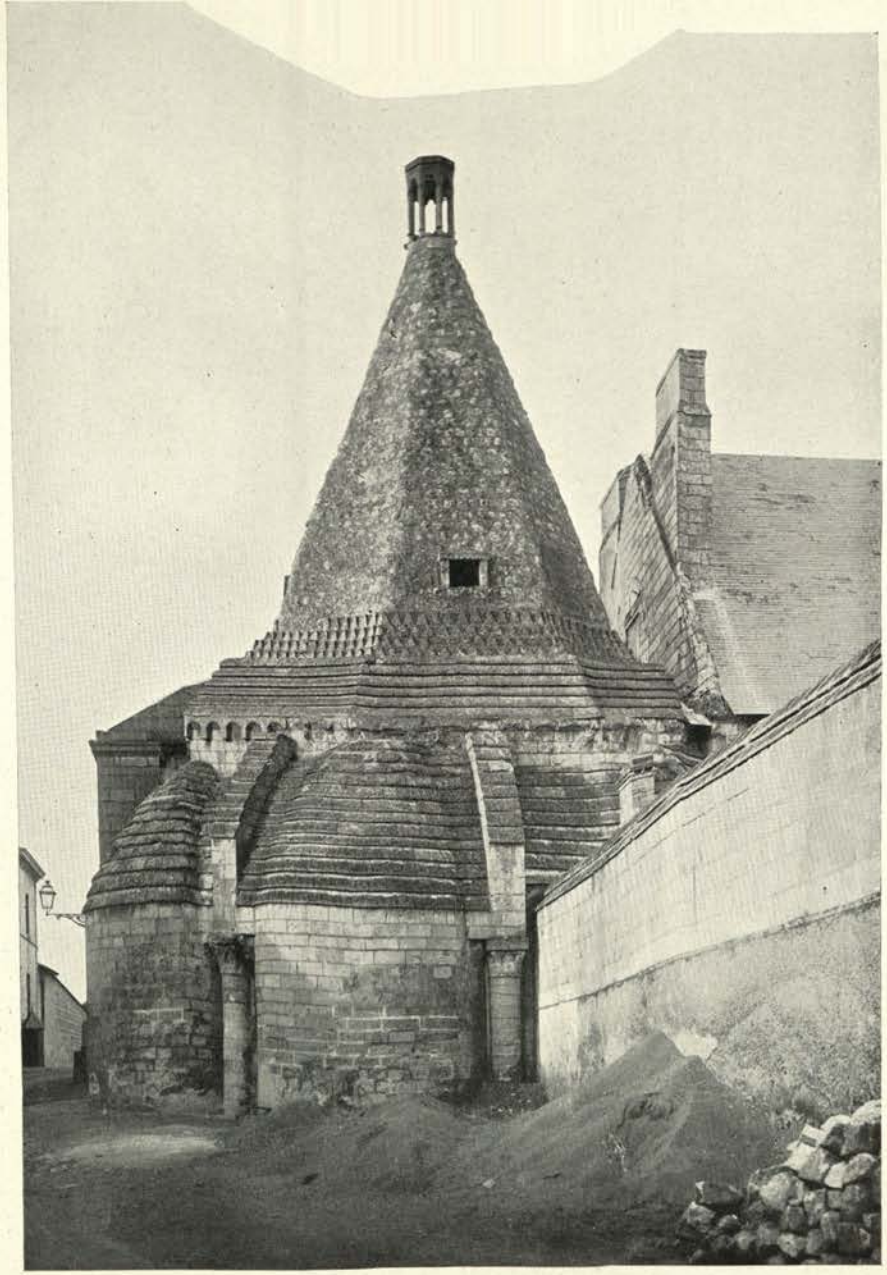
Cellefrouin (Charente). Lantern of the Dead. - Fenioux (Charente-Inférieure). Lantern of the Dead

Lyon (Rhône). Cathedral, Exterior of the old Choral School



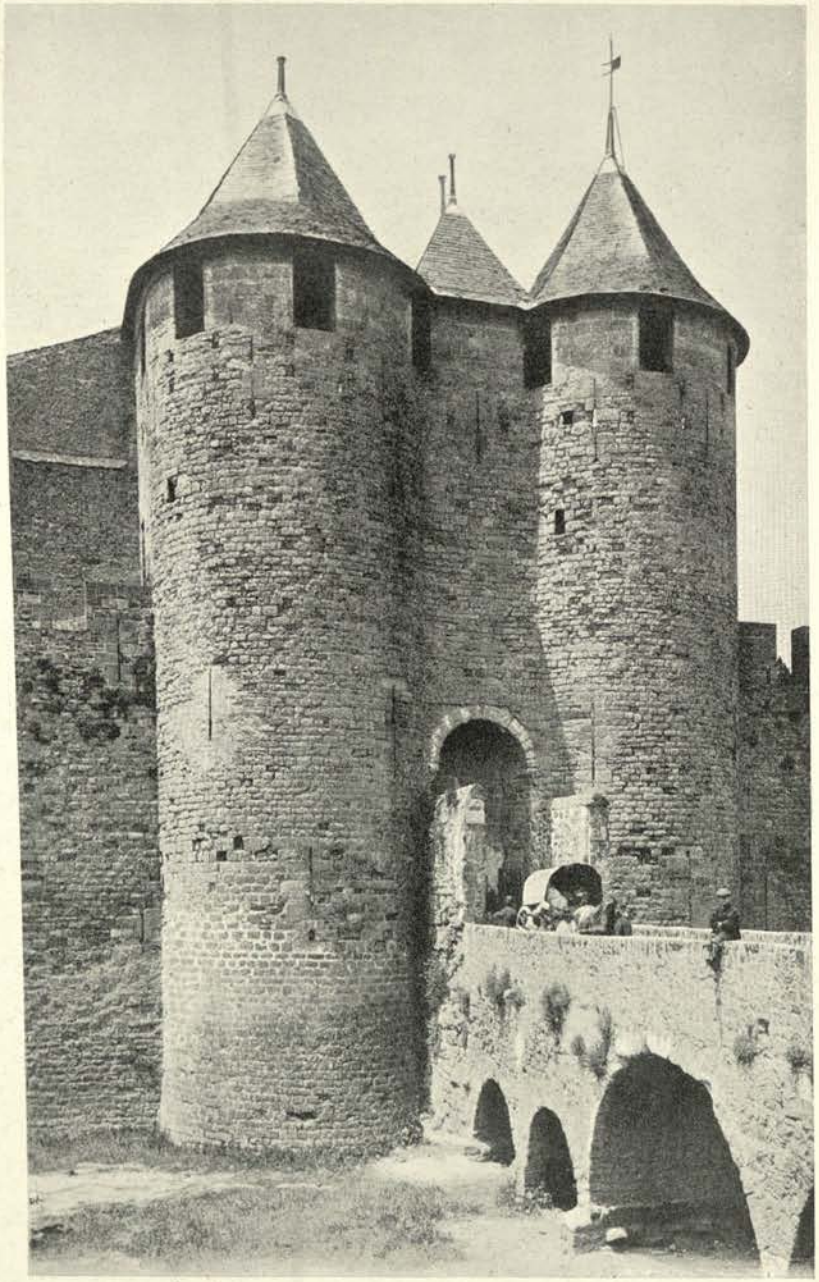
Saint-Antonin (Tarn-et-Garonne). Exterior of the Hall of the Castle, now Town-hall



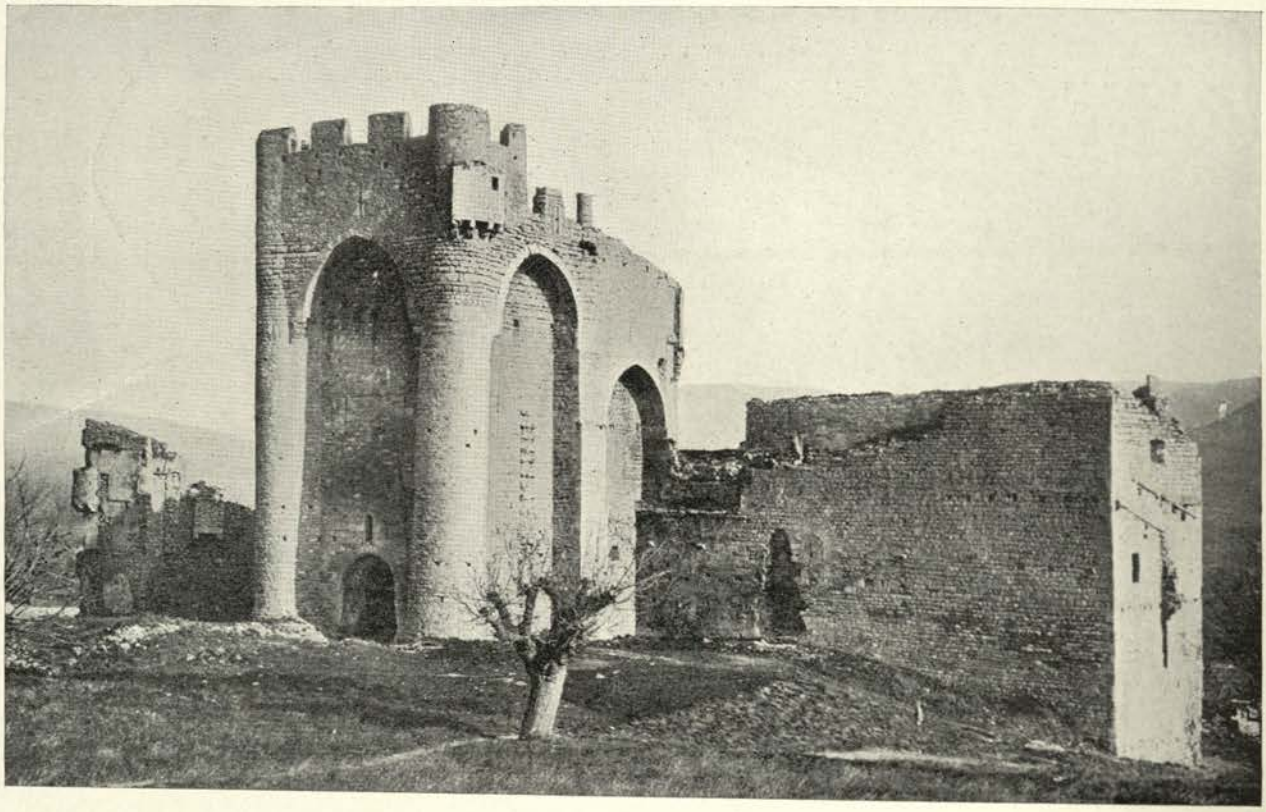


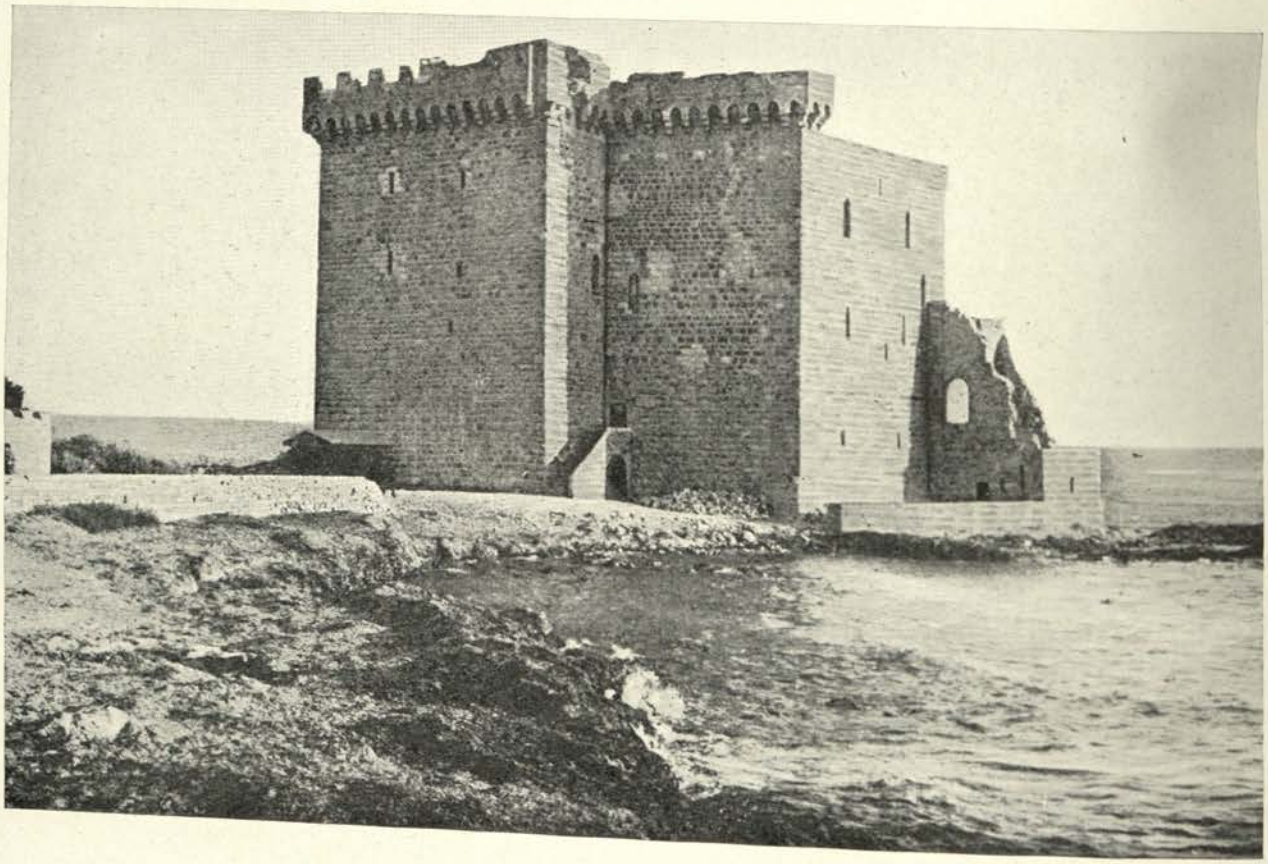
Cluny (Saône-et-Loire). House, Rue de la République (12th cent.). - Fontevrault (Maine-et-Loire). Kitchen of the Abbey

Burlats (Tarn). Hall of the Castle, Exterior

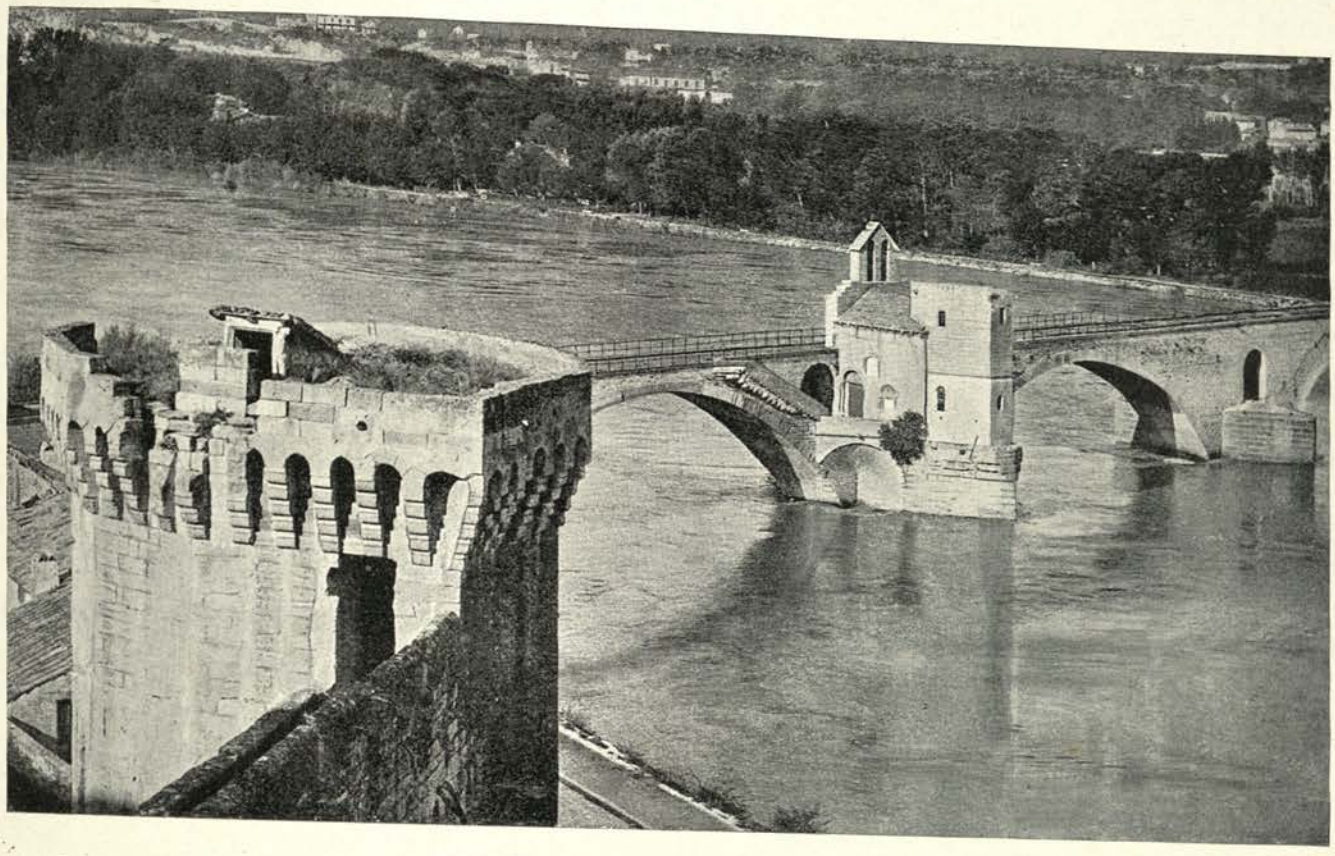


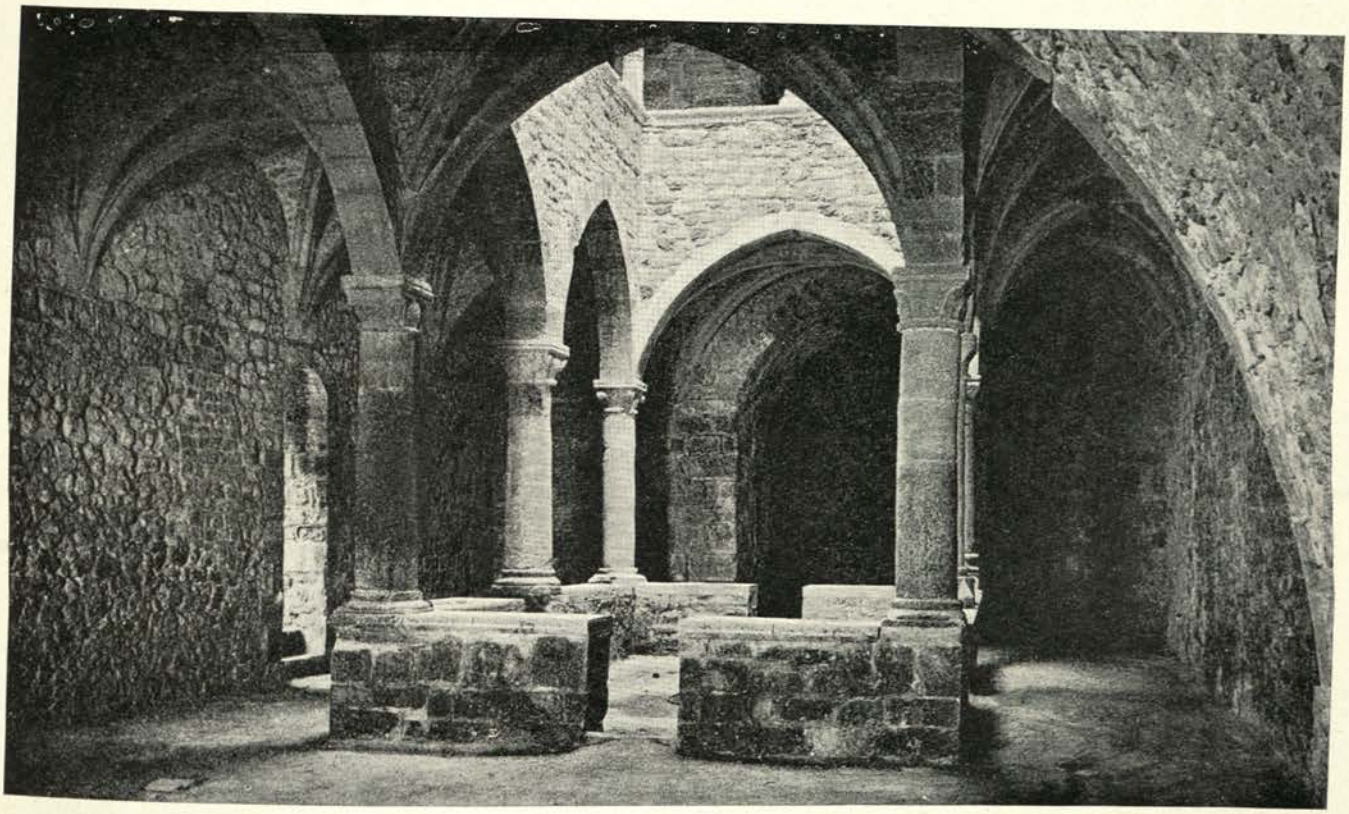
Carcassonne (Aude). Gate of the Castle. - Carcasonne (Aude). Entrance to the Castle with "Tour de Justice"



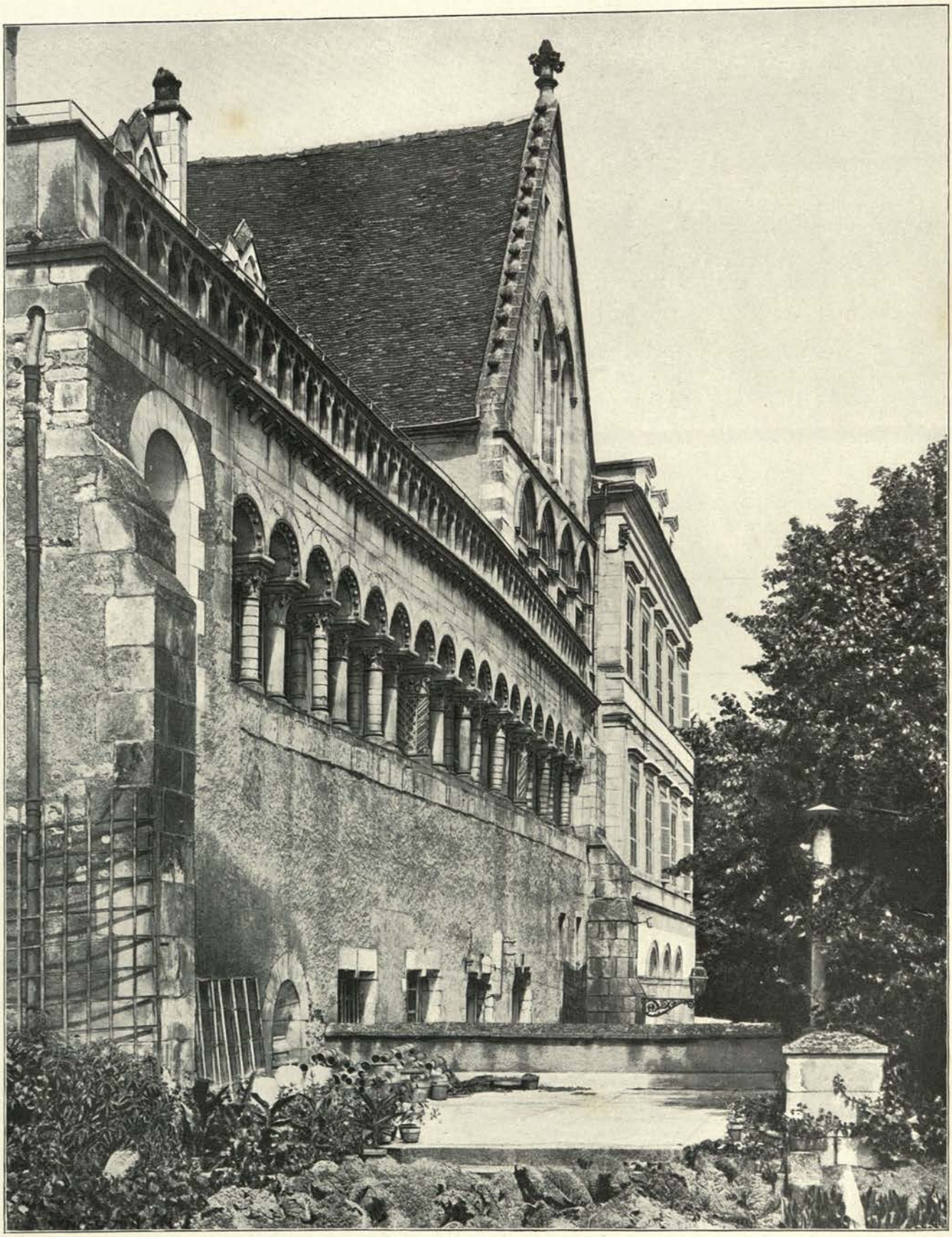


Cruas (Ardèche). Castle with Chapel, South-West end.
Saint-Honorat-des-Lérins (Alpes-Maritimes). Castle (1073–1190)

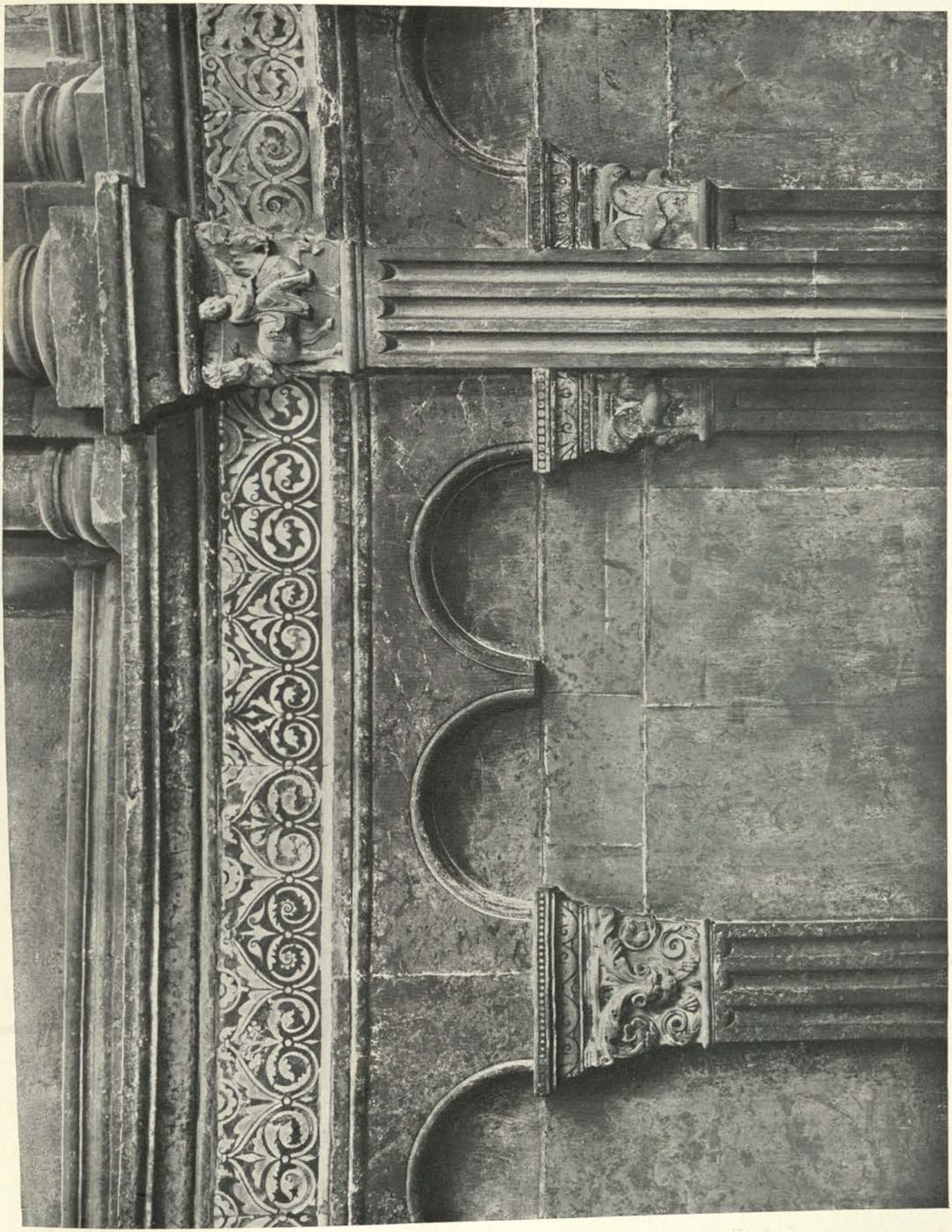




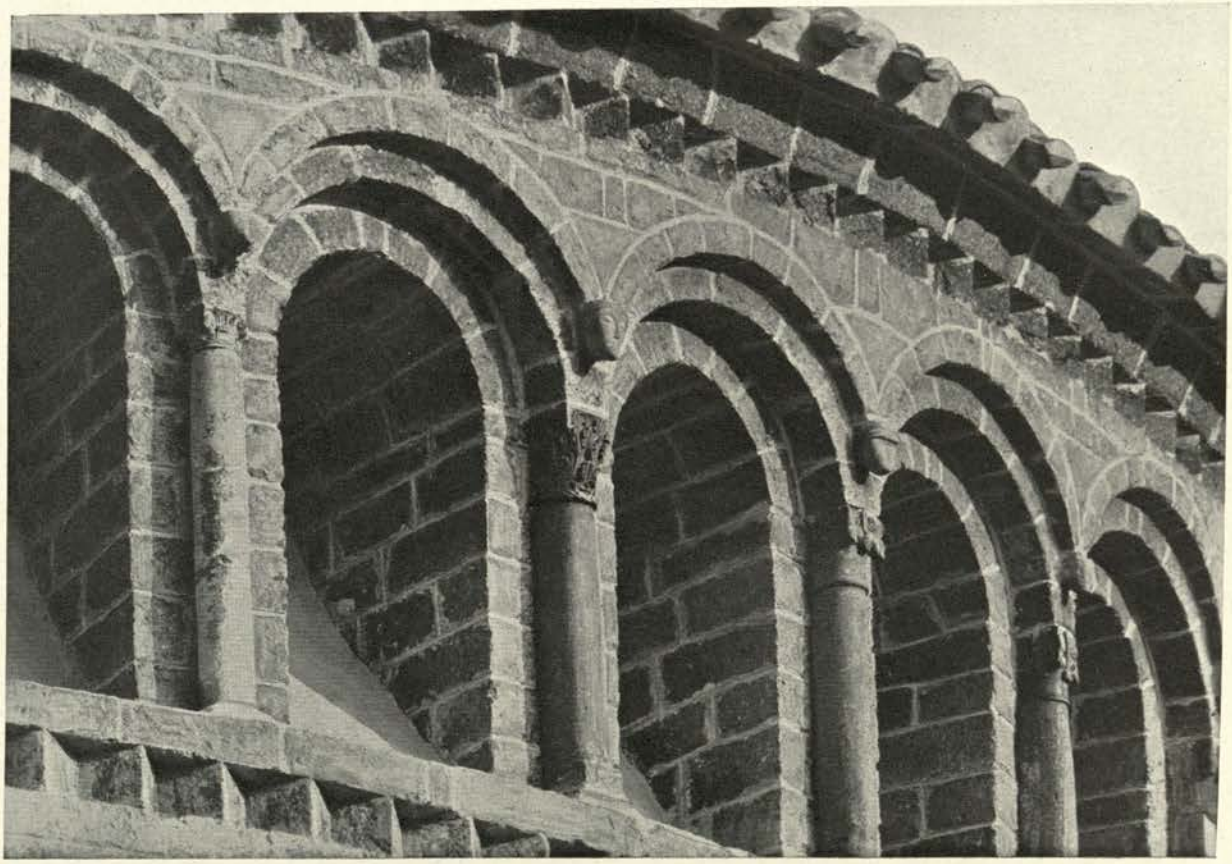
Avignon (Vaucluse). Pont-Saint-Bénézet (1177–1185), Total View.
Saint-Honorat-des-Lérins (Alpes-Maritimes). Court of the Castle



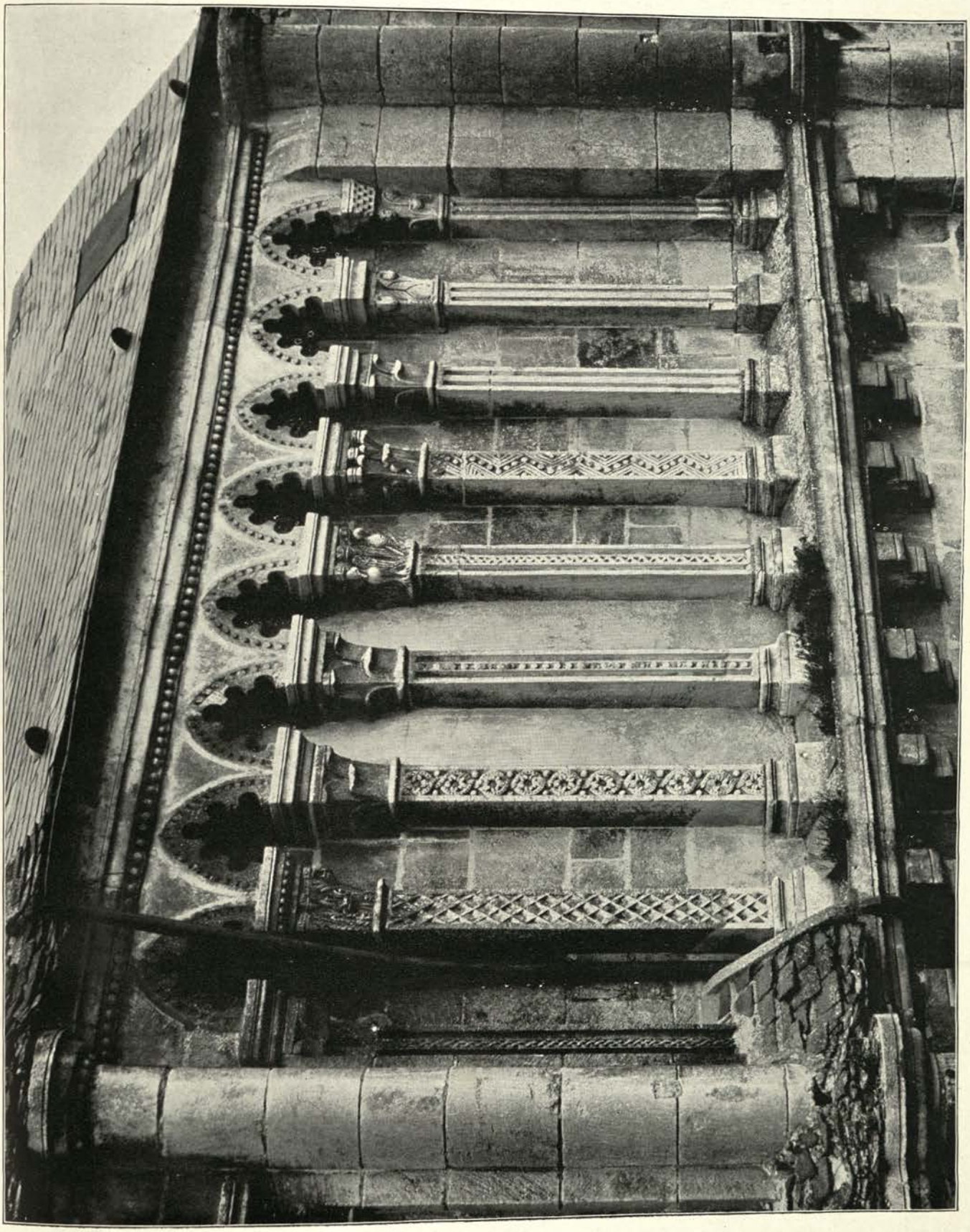
Auxerre (Yonne). Episcopal Palace, Hall of the Castle, Exterior



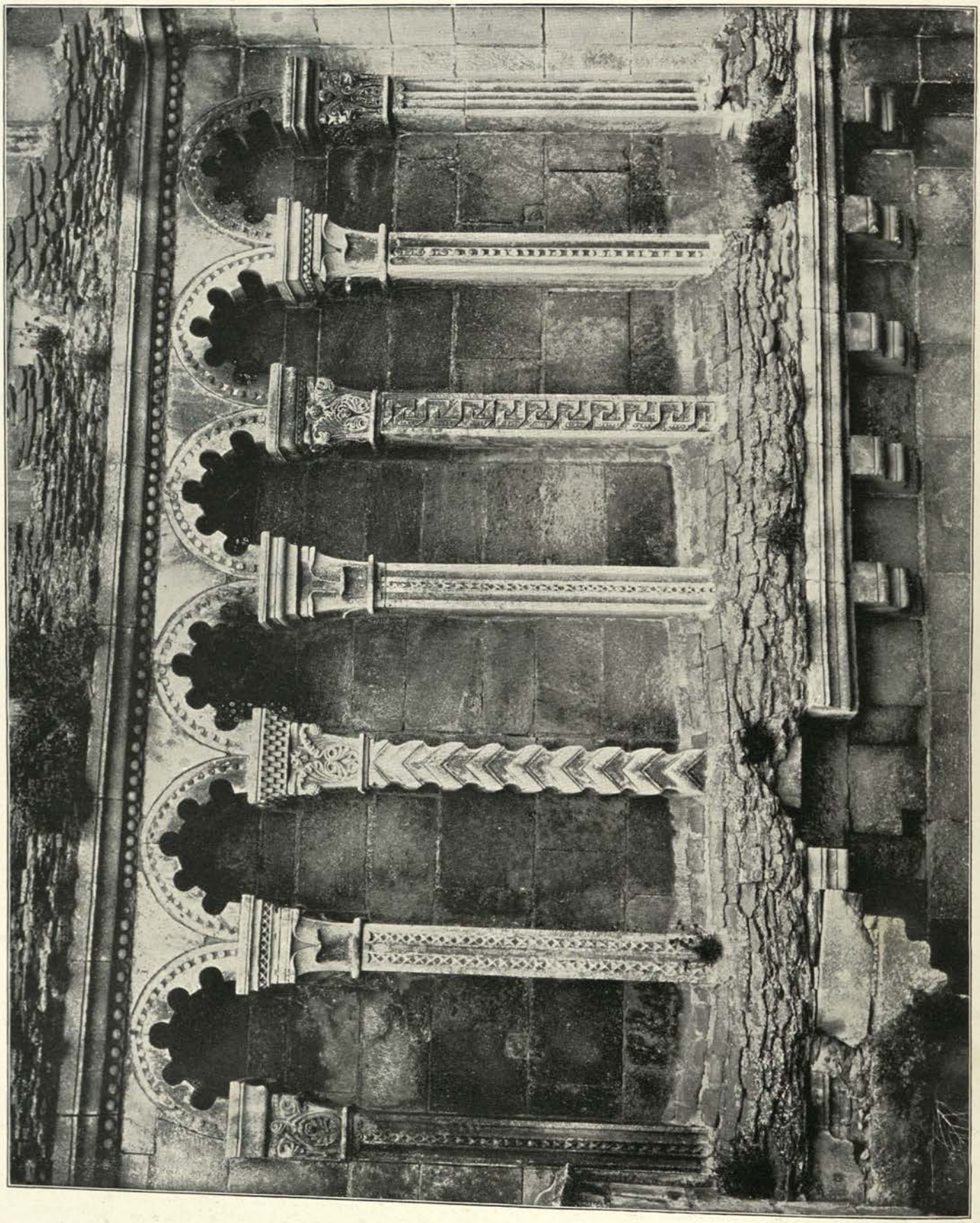
Lyon (Rhône). Saint-Martin d'Ainay, Apse, Mural Decoration



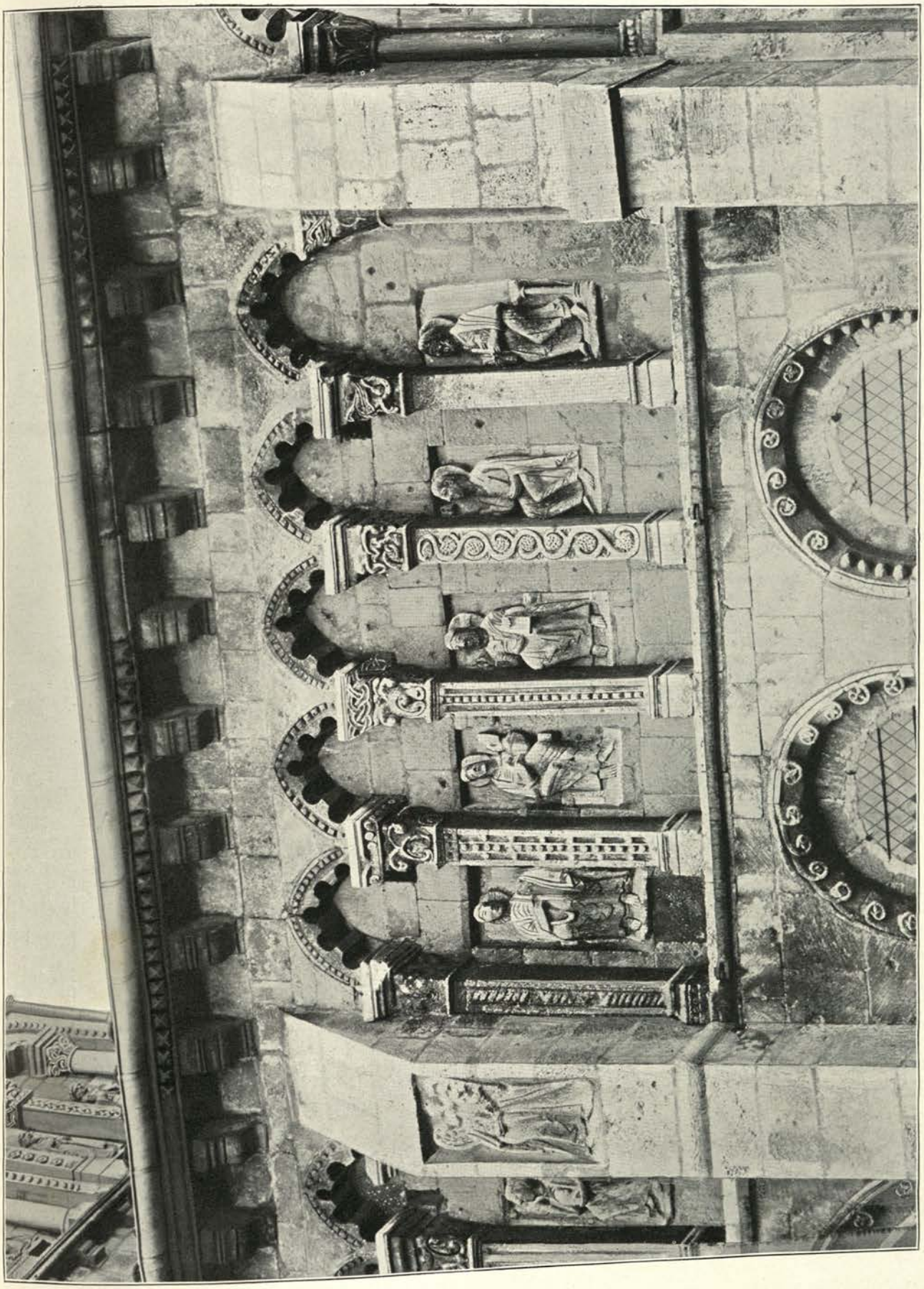
Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert (Hérault). Abbey Church, Blind Arcades of the Apse (1076).
Le Thor (Vaucluse). Church, Blind Arcades of the Apse



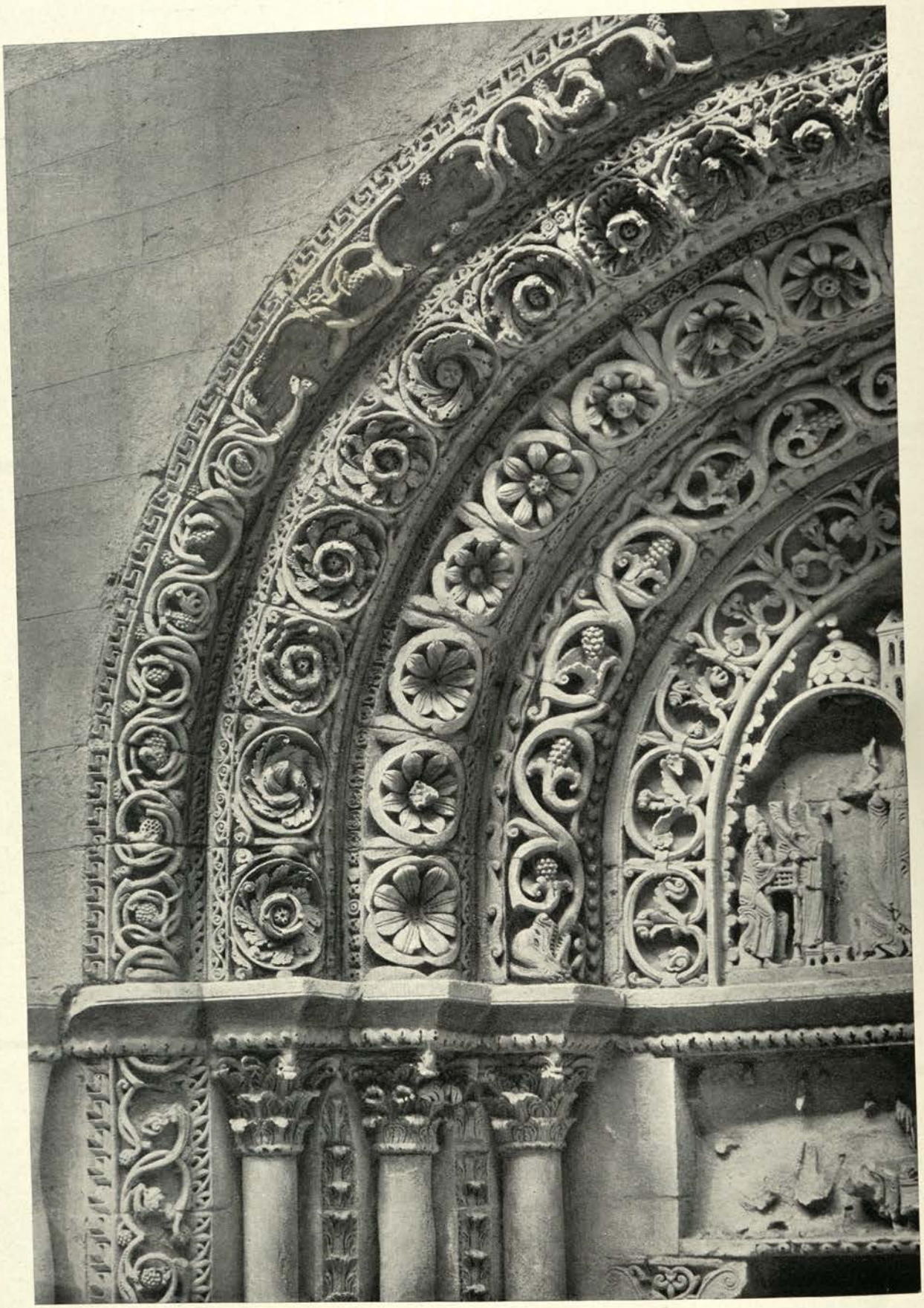
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, West Front, Detail



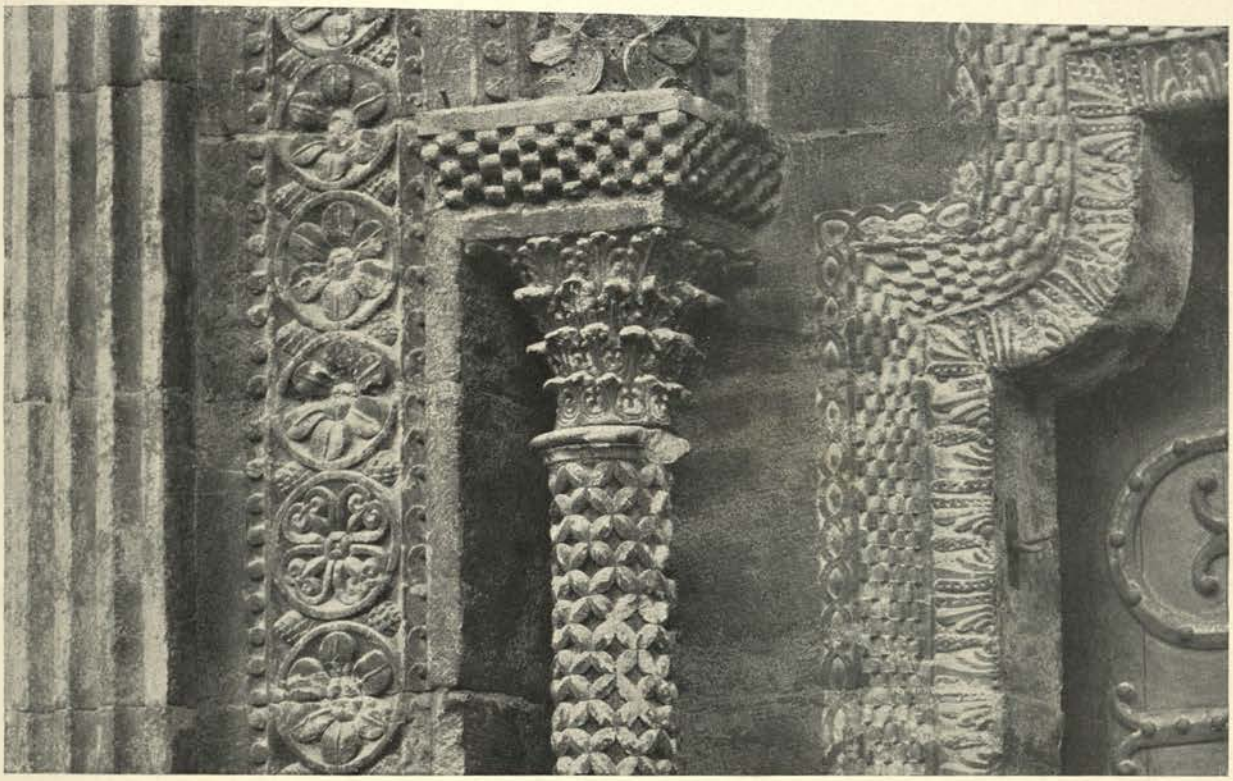
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, West Front, Detail



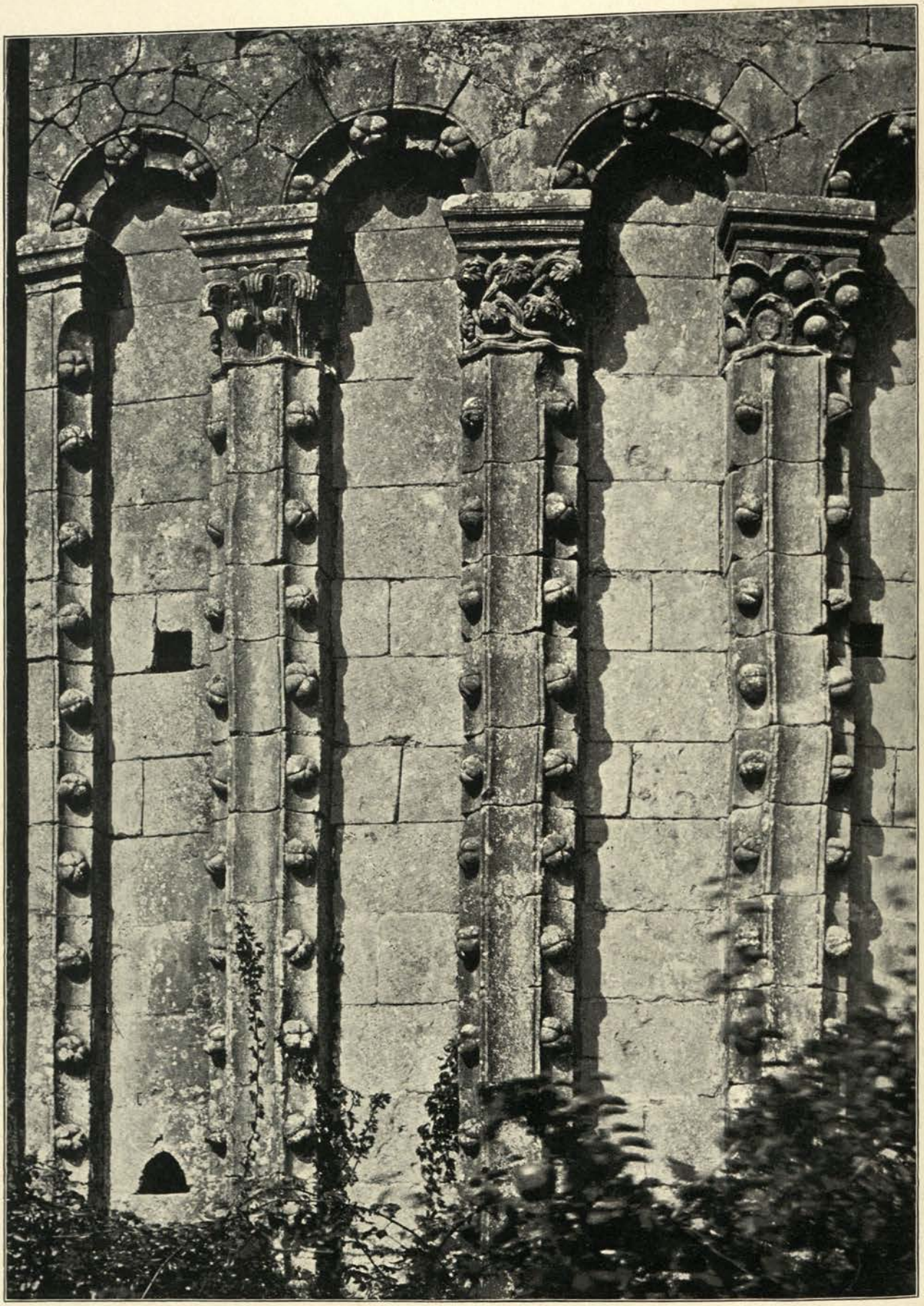
La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, South end of the Chancel, Detail



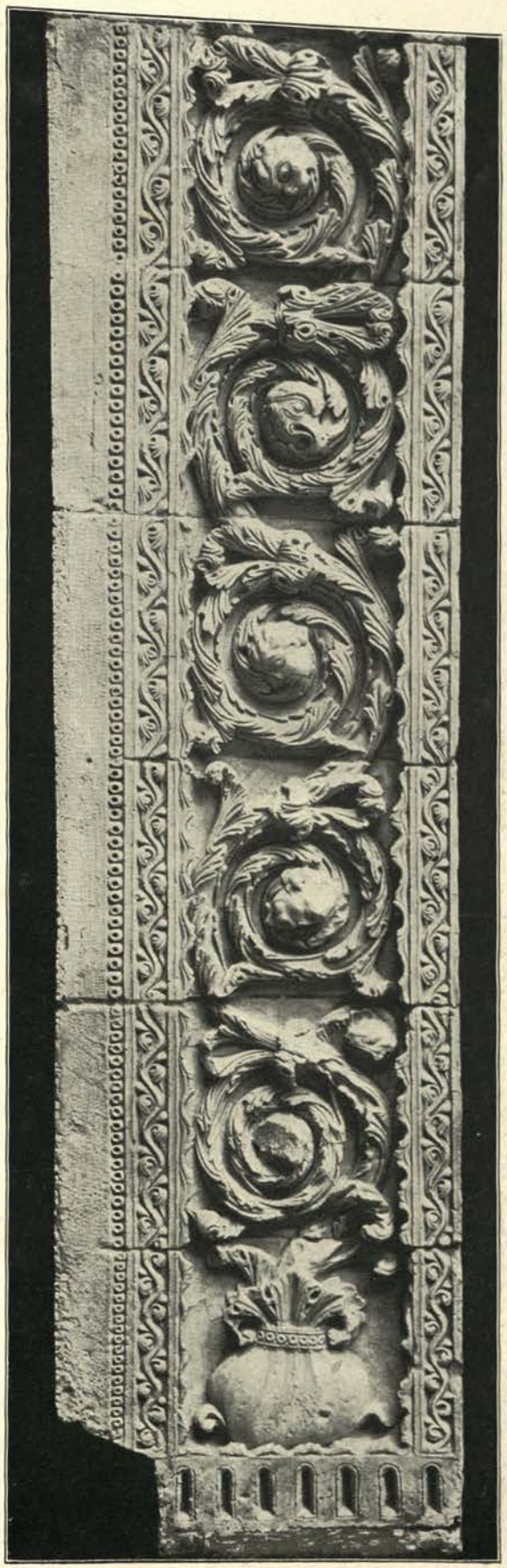
Avallon (Yonne). Saint-Lazare, Detail of the South Portal



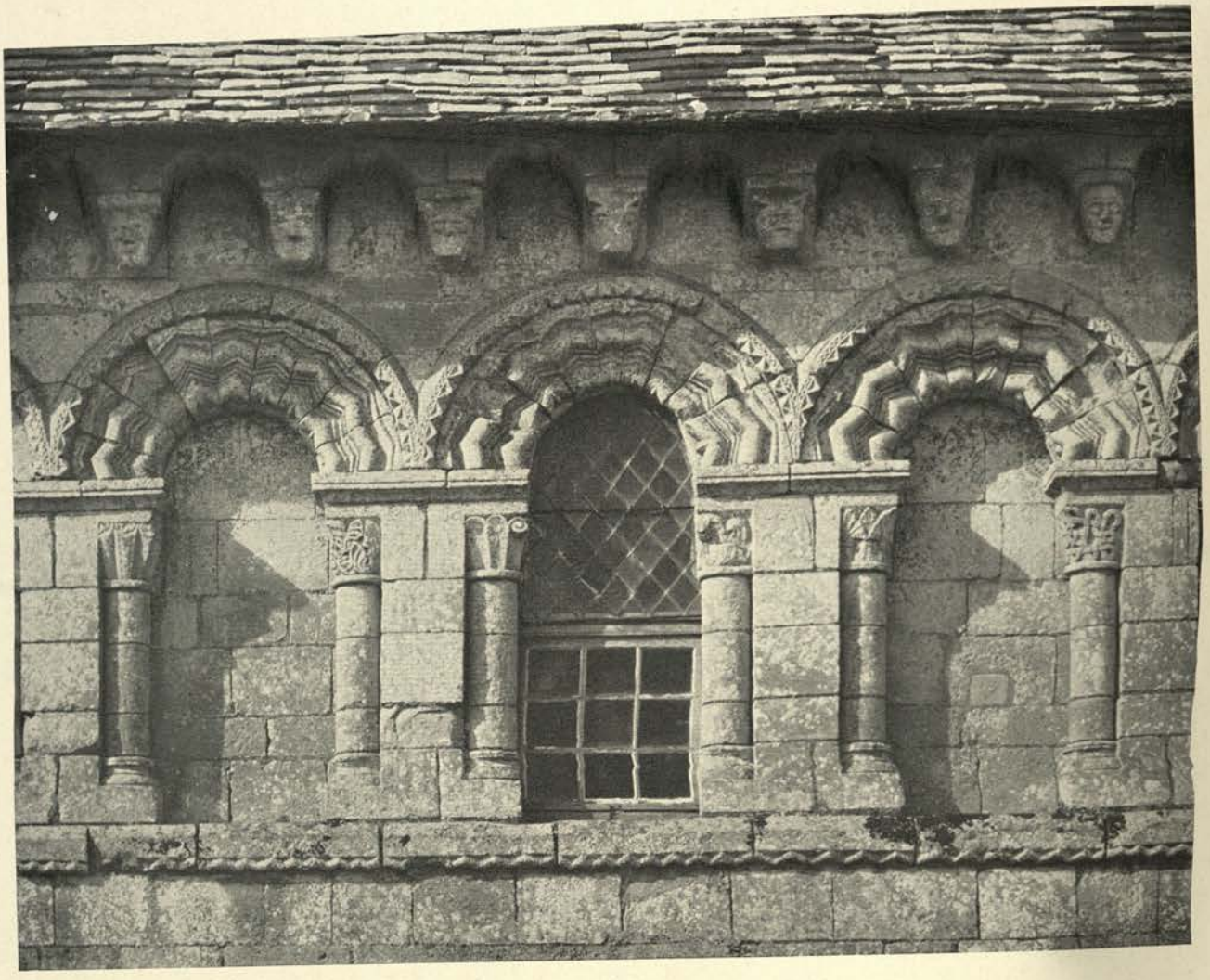
Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire). Abbey Church, North Transept, Detail of the Portal.
Bourges (Cher). Cathedral, Portal of the South Transept, West jambs



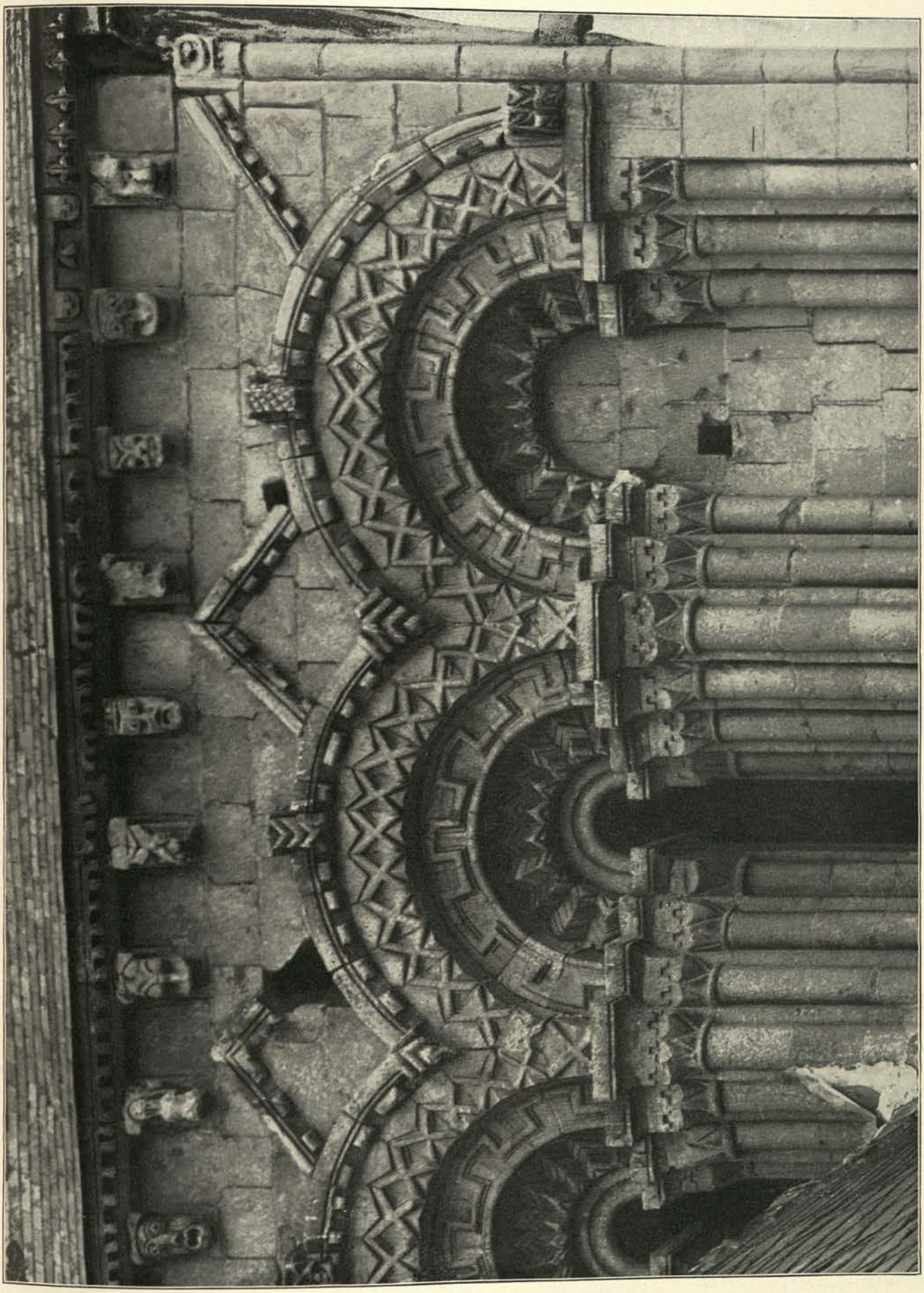
Jazeneuil (Vienne). Church, Detail of the Apse



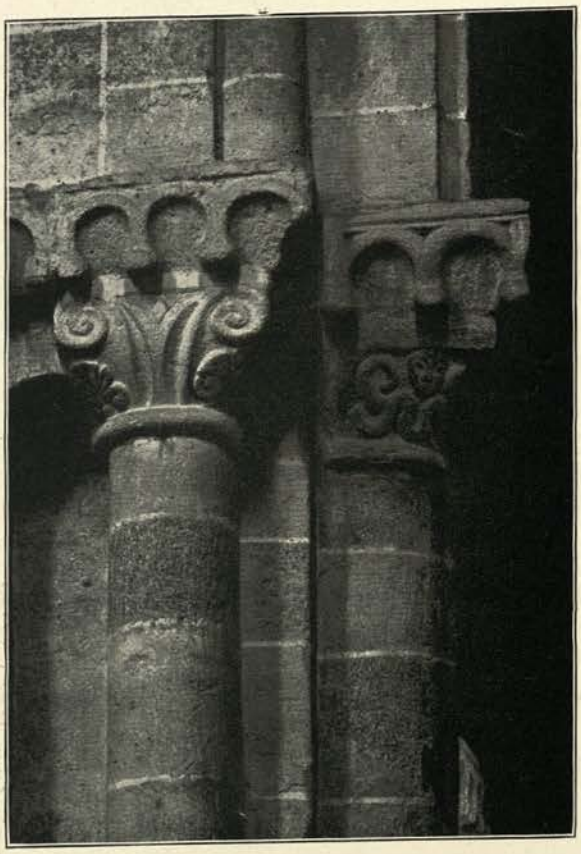
Mantes (Seine-et-Oise). Church, Pilasters of the Centre Door



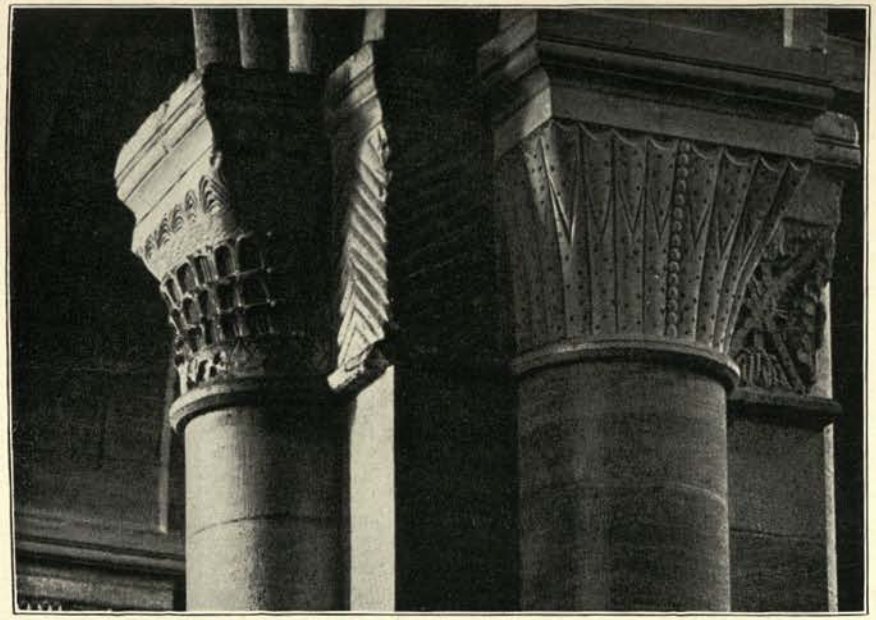
Mouen (Calvados). Saint-Malo, Church, Detail of the South side.
Beaumais (Calvados). Church, Moulding

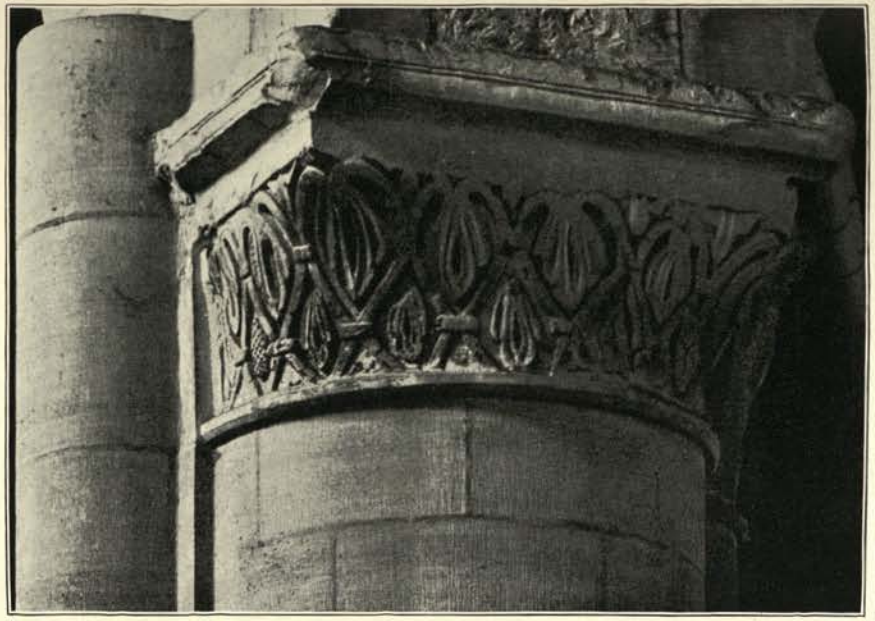


Falaise (Calvados). Saint-Gervais (um 1080), Windows



Avesnières (Mayenne). Church, Capitals and Bases





Gournay (Seine-Inférieure). Church, Capitals

Morienval (Oise). Church, Capitals

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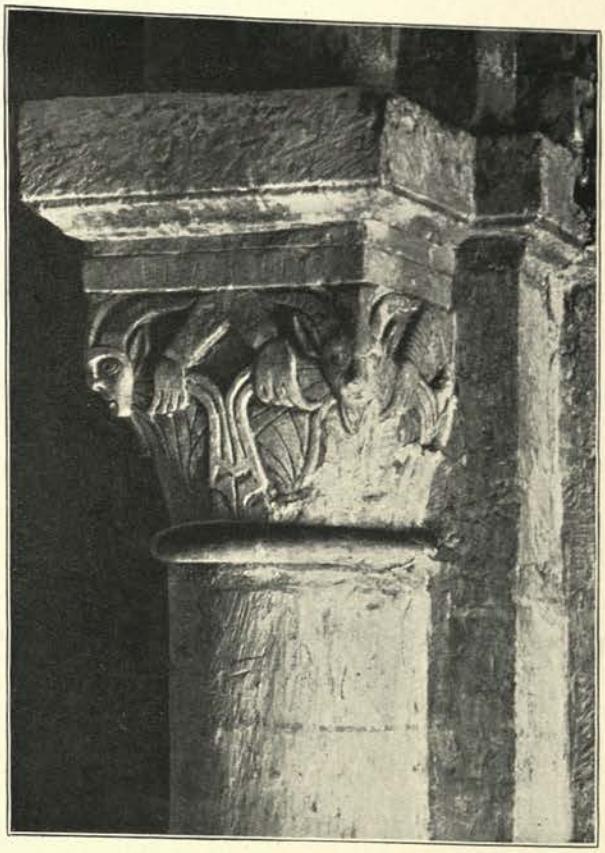

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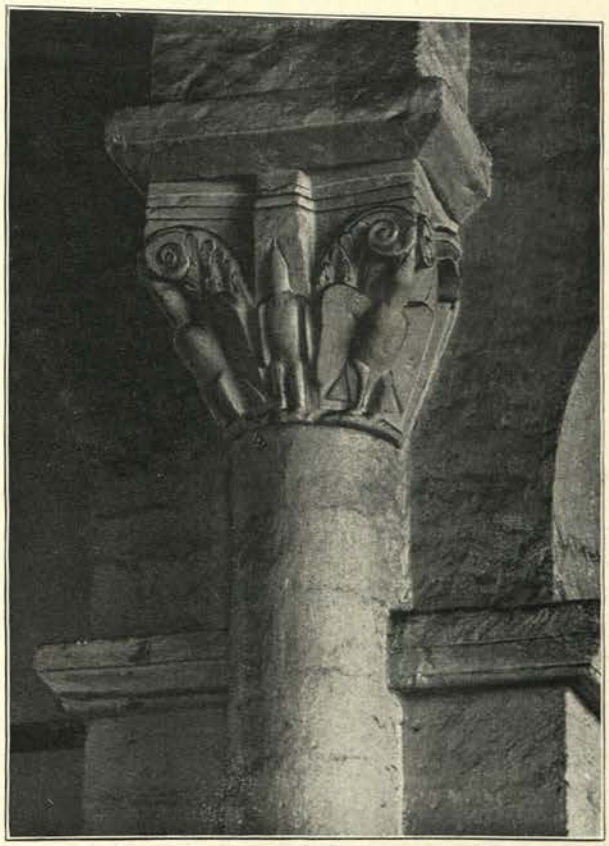

4

1, 2. Bernay (Eure). Church, Capitals (after 1050). - 3. Beaumais (Calvados). Church, Capital. 4. Angers (Maine-et-Loire). Abbey of Ronceray, Church, Capital

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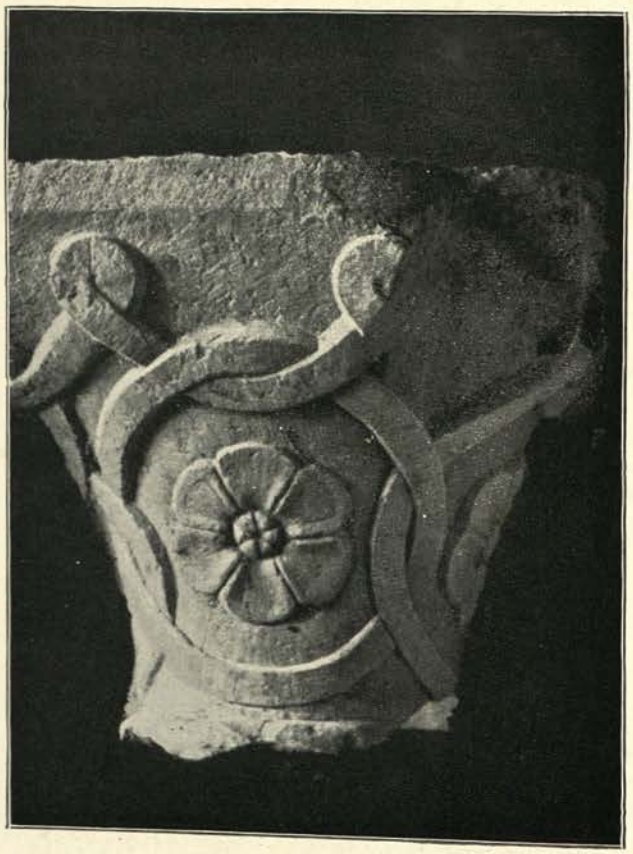
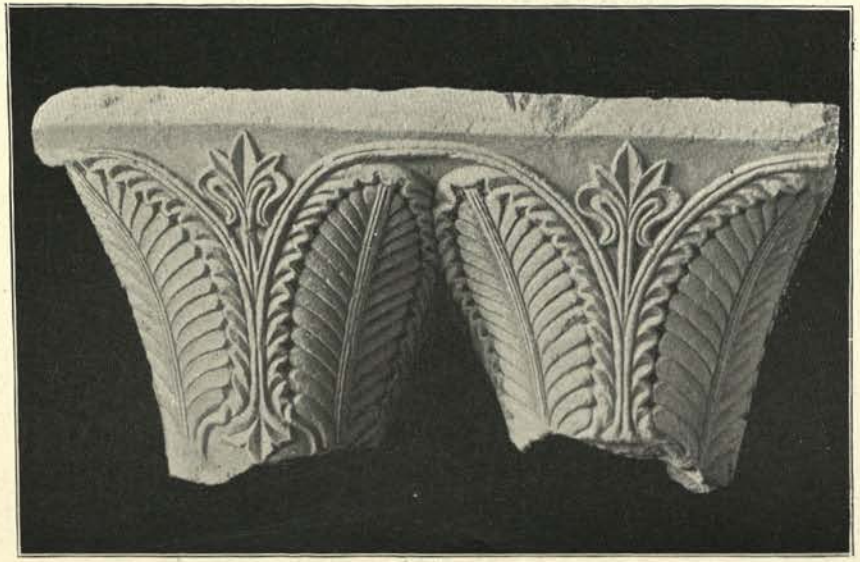
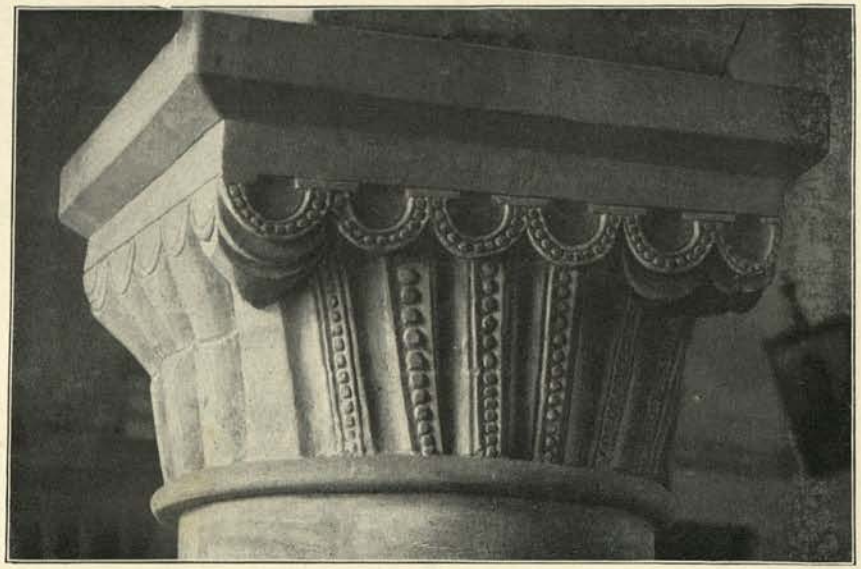


4

1, 2, 3. Saint-Savin-de-Lavedan (Hautes-Pyrénées). Capitals (11th cent.).
4. Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Museum, Capital (about 1200)



Saint-Savin-de-Lavedan (Hautes-Pyrénées). Capitals (11th cent.)



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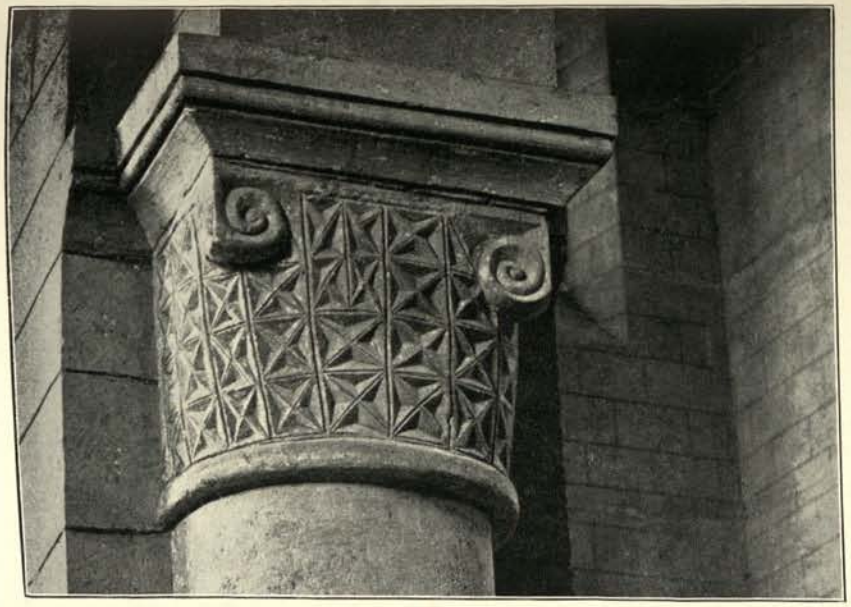
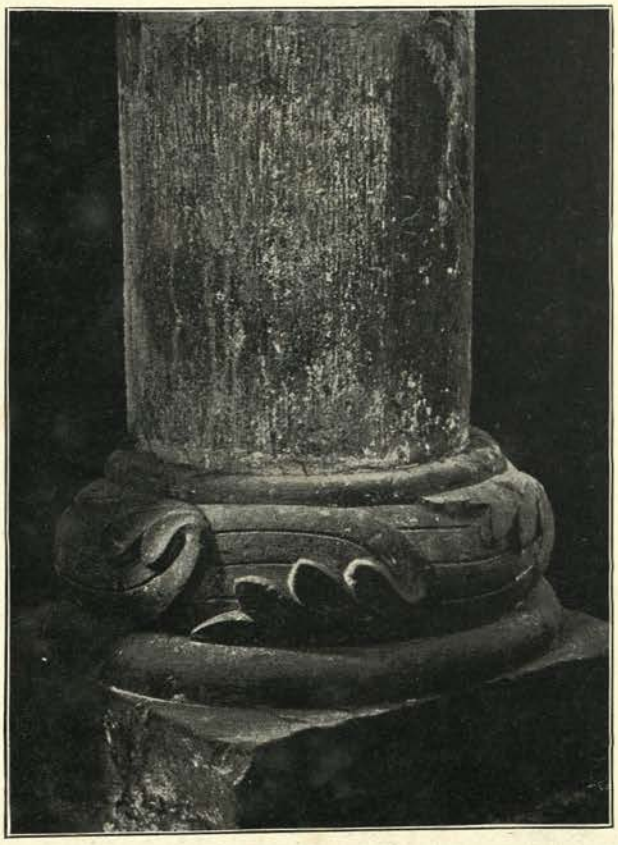
1, 2. Creuilly (Calvados). Saint-Martin, Capitals. - 3, 4. Oulchy-le-Château (Aisne). Notre-Dame, Capitals (about 1050)



Ouldhy-le-Château (Aisne). Notre-Dame, Capitals (about 1050)

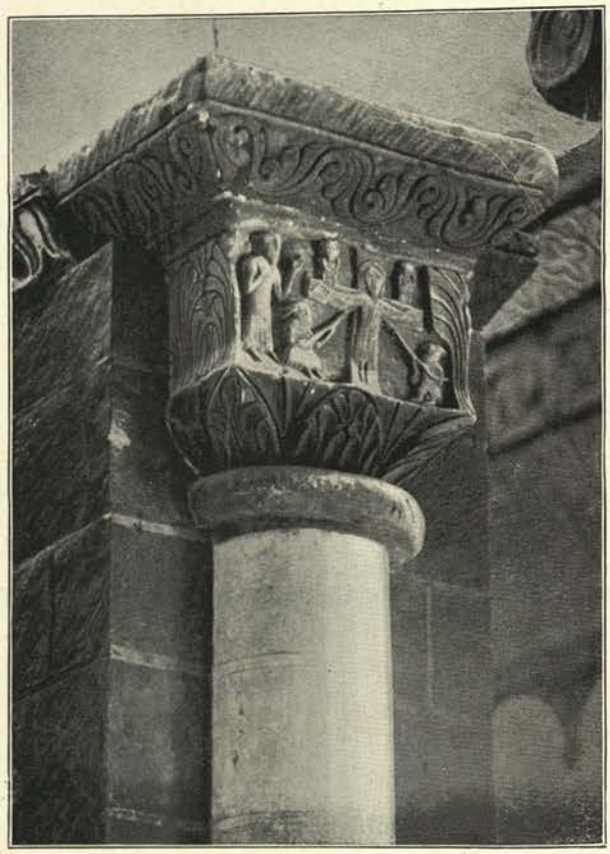
Caen (Calvados). Sainte-Trinité (1062–1072), Capital.
Saint-Dié (Vosges). Cathedral Sainte-Trinité, Capital

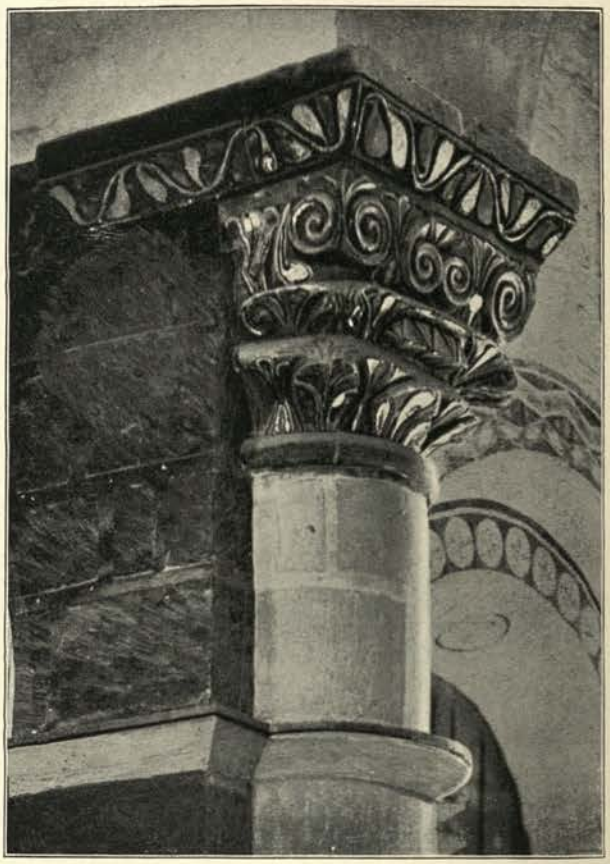


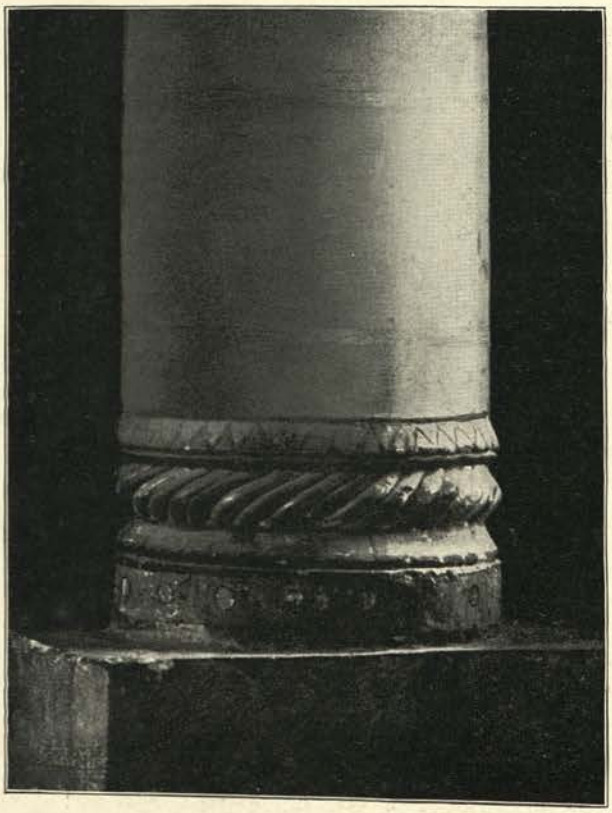
Vézelay (Yonne). Sainte-Madeleine, Capitals and Bases

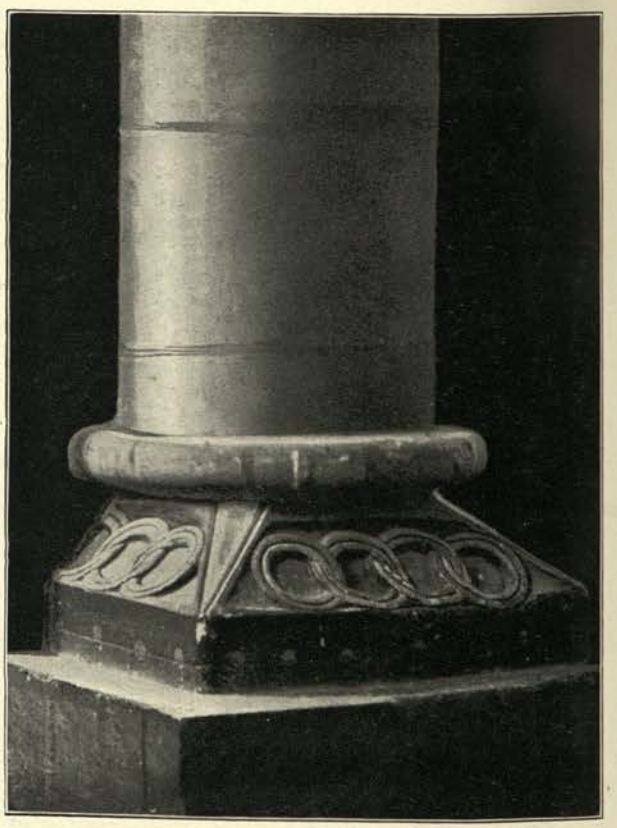
Palaiseau (Seine-et-Oise). Church, Capitals

Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher (Loir-et-Cher). Church, Capitals of the Chancel



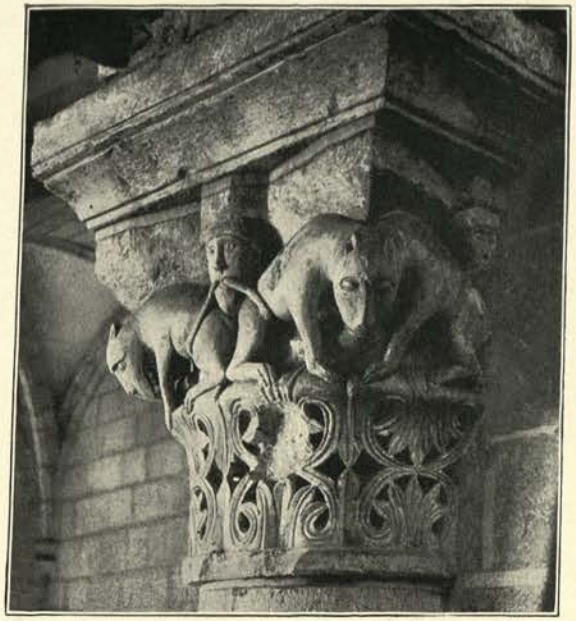






Rivière (Indre-et-Loire). Church, Capitals and Bases

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Capitals



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1–5. Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Capitals. - 6. Thil-Châtel (Côte-d'Or). Church, Capital

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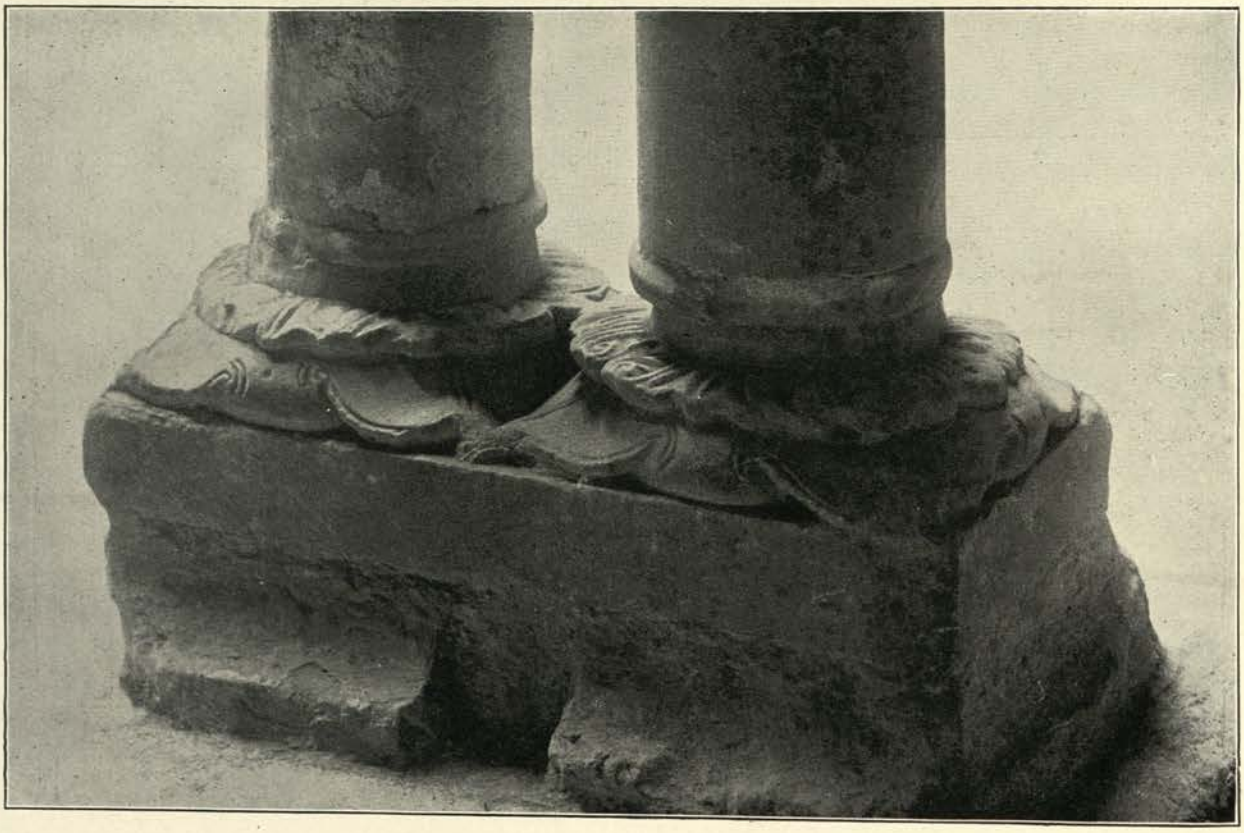
1, 3. Charlieu (Loire). Church, Capitals. - 2, 5. Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Capitals.
4, 6. Saint-Pierre-le-Moutier (Nièvre). Church, Capitals



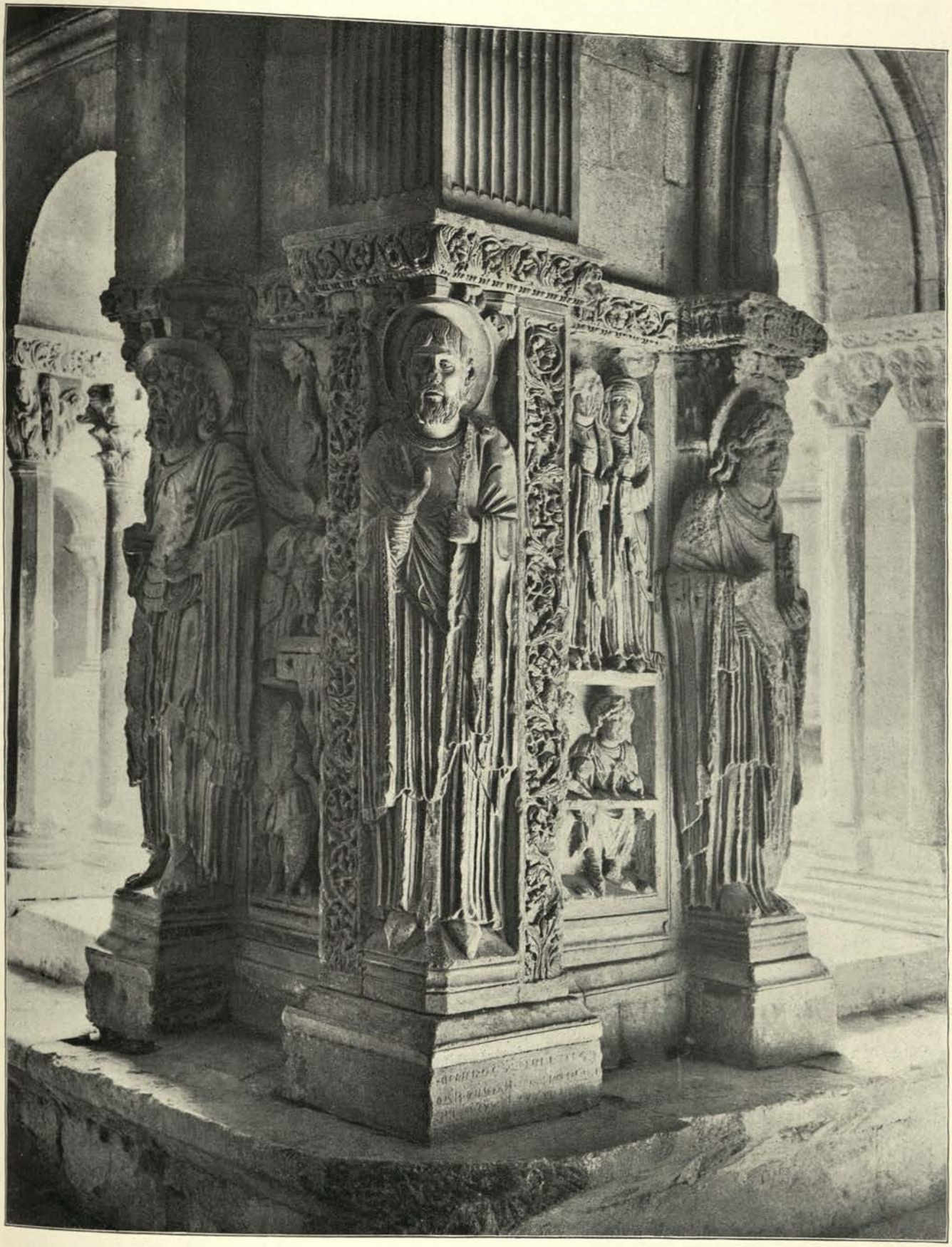
Aix (Bouches-du-Rhône). Cathedral of Saint-Sauveur, Capitals and Bases

Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Cloister, Capital (Museum).
Saint-Gaudens (Haute-Garonne). Church, West Portal, Capital

Vaison (Vaucluse). Cathedral, Cloister, Capitals

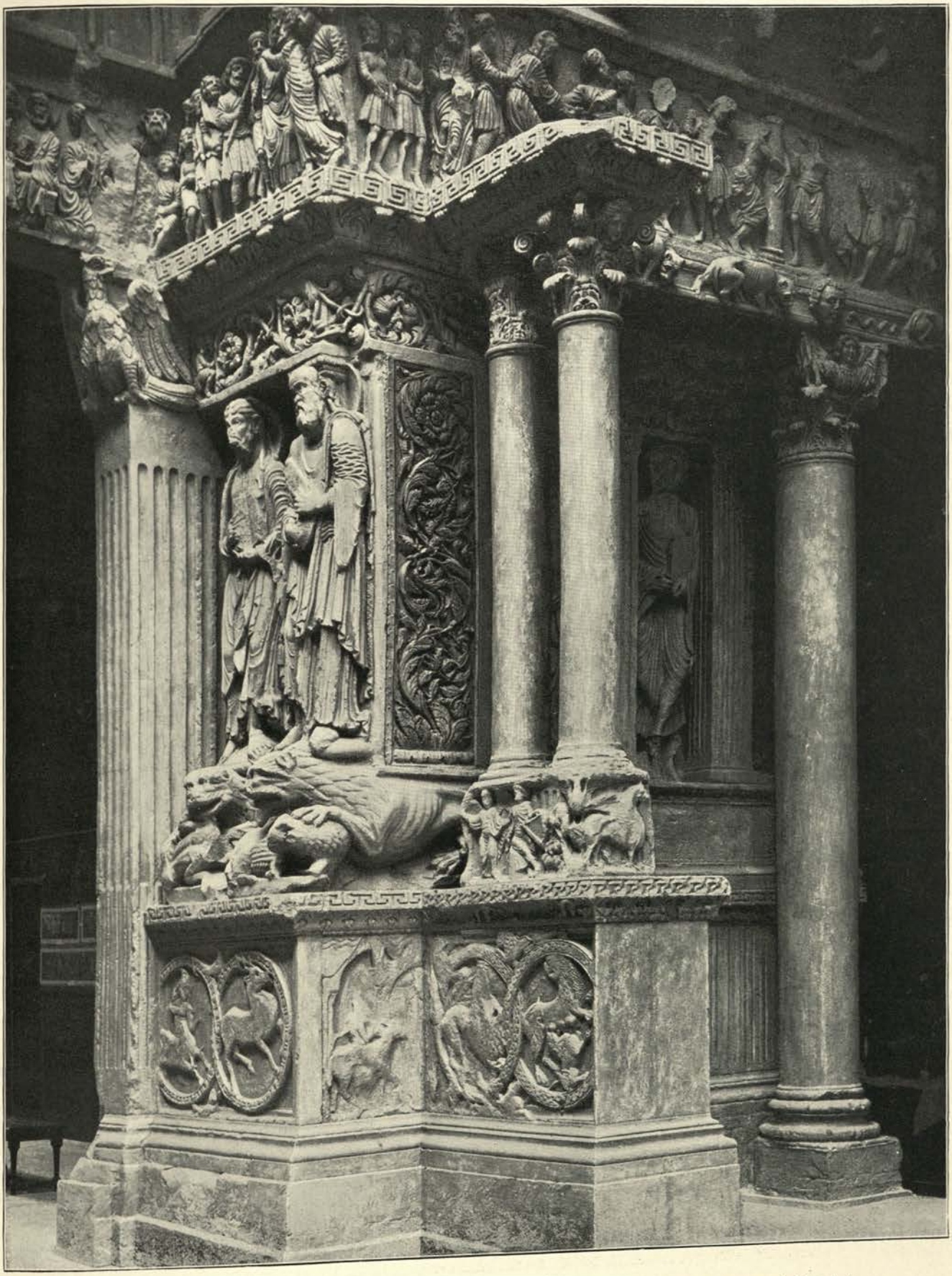
Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Capital. - Saintes (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Eutrope, Capital

Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, Capital from the West Portal (about 1150, Museum).
Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Abbey of the Daurade, Cloister, Capitals (Museum)



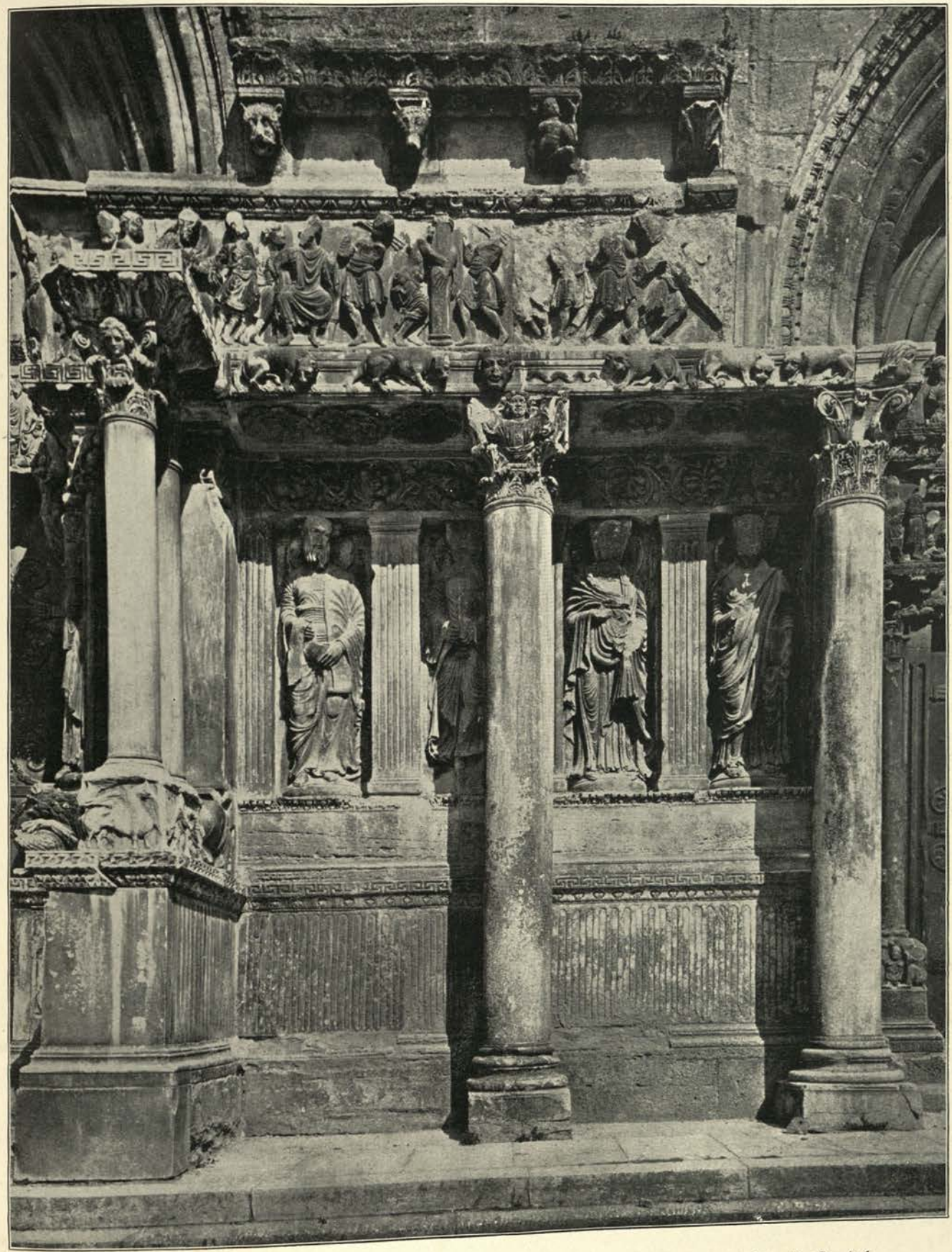
Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophîme, Cloister, North-West Pillar with the Saints Peter, Trophimus and John, the Resurrection and the Women at the Sepulchre

Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophîme, Principal Portal, South side (about 1175)



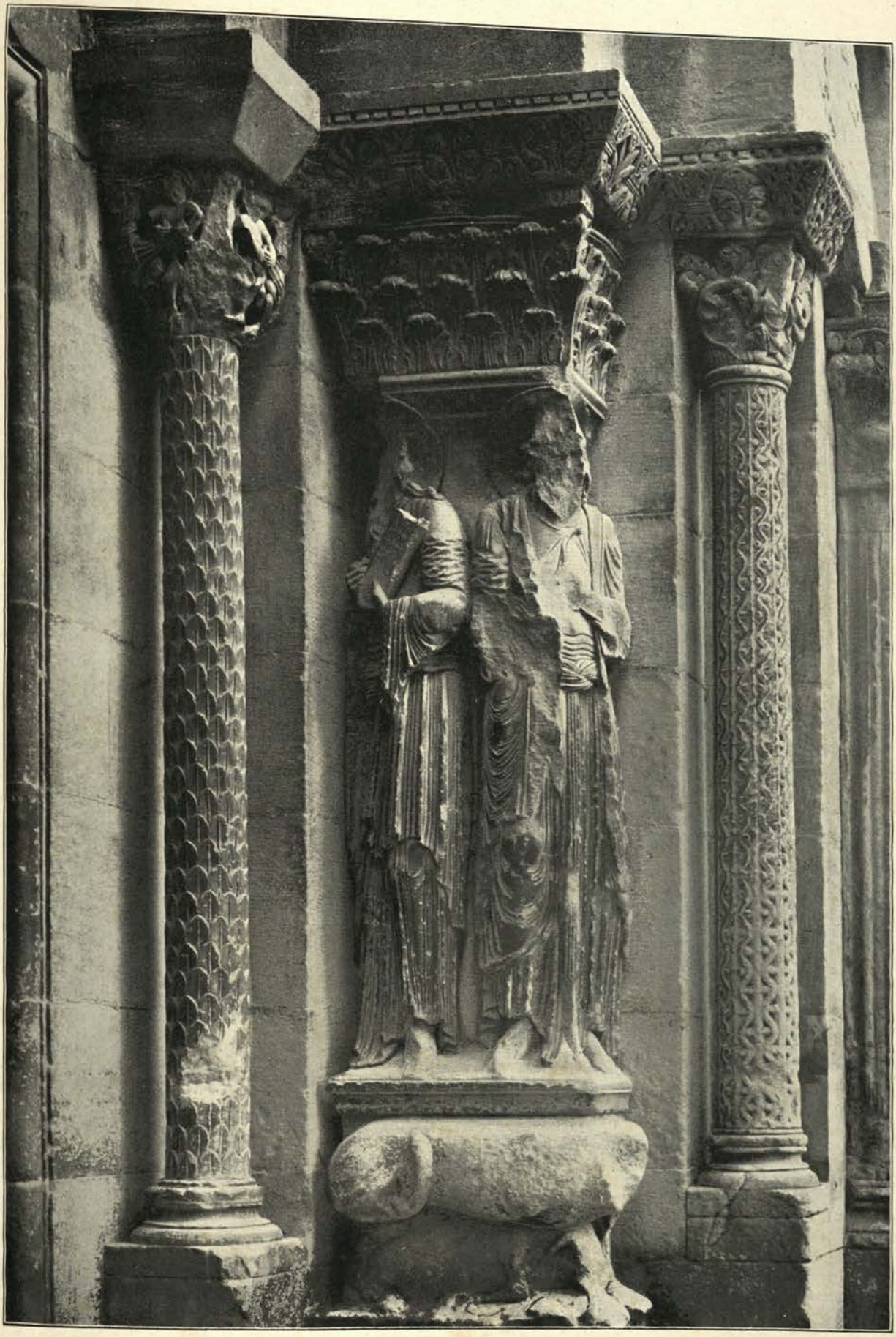
Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, West Front, South frame of the Central Portal

Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, West Front, Wall between North and Central Portal

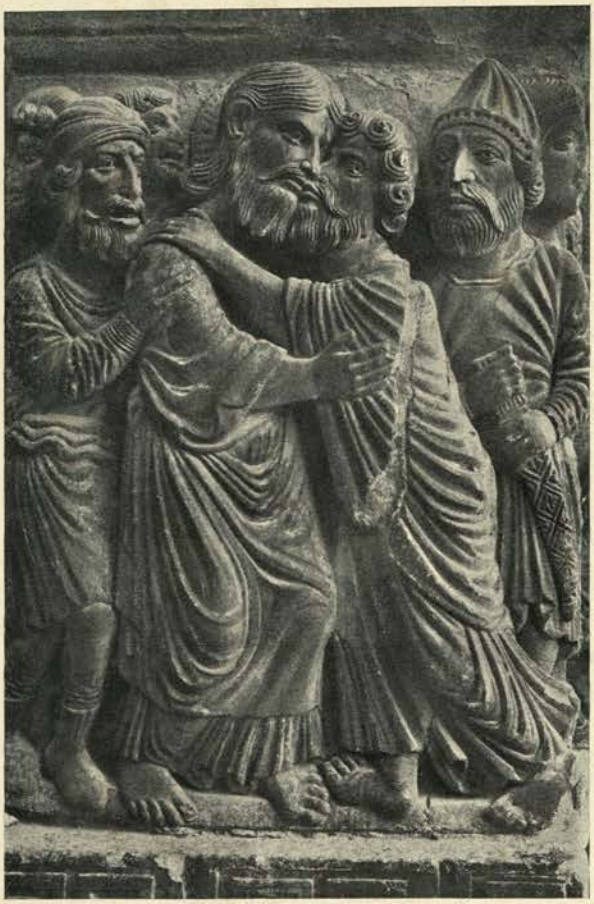


Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, West Front, Wall between Central and South Portal

Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, West Front, Central and South Portal



Romans (Drôme). Saint-Barnard, West Portal, South Wall, St. John and St. Peter



Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophime, Principal Portal, Crown of the Arcades.
Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, Central Portal, South Revel, Frieze, Judas' kiss.
Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, St. Michael next the South Portal

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1. Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, South Portal, Tympanum, Crucifixion.
2. Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, Central Portal, North Plinth, Cain's Fraticide. - 3. Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Trophîme, Cloister, North-East Pillar, Lapidation of St. Stephanus

Maguelonne (Hérault). Saint-Pierre, West Portal (1178)

Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales). Sainte-Eulalie, Cloister, Tomb of an unkown Bishop. By Ramon de Bionya.
Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines (Pyrénées-Orientales) Church, West Front, Tomb.
Elne (Pyrénées-Orientales). Sainte-Eulalie, Cloister, Tomb of Guillaume de Jordan (1186)

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1. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, Saint (about 1100). - 2. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, South Portal, Lintel, Apostle and Prophet of the Ascension (about 1125). - 3. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Étienne, Portal of the Chapter-room, Capital (Museum)

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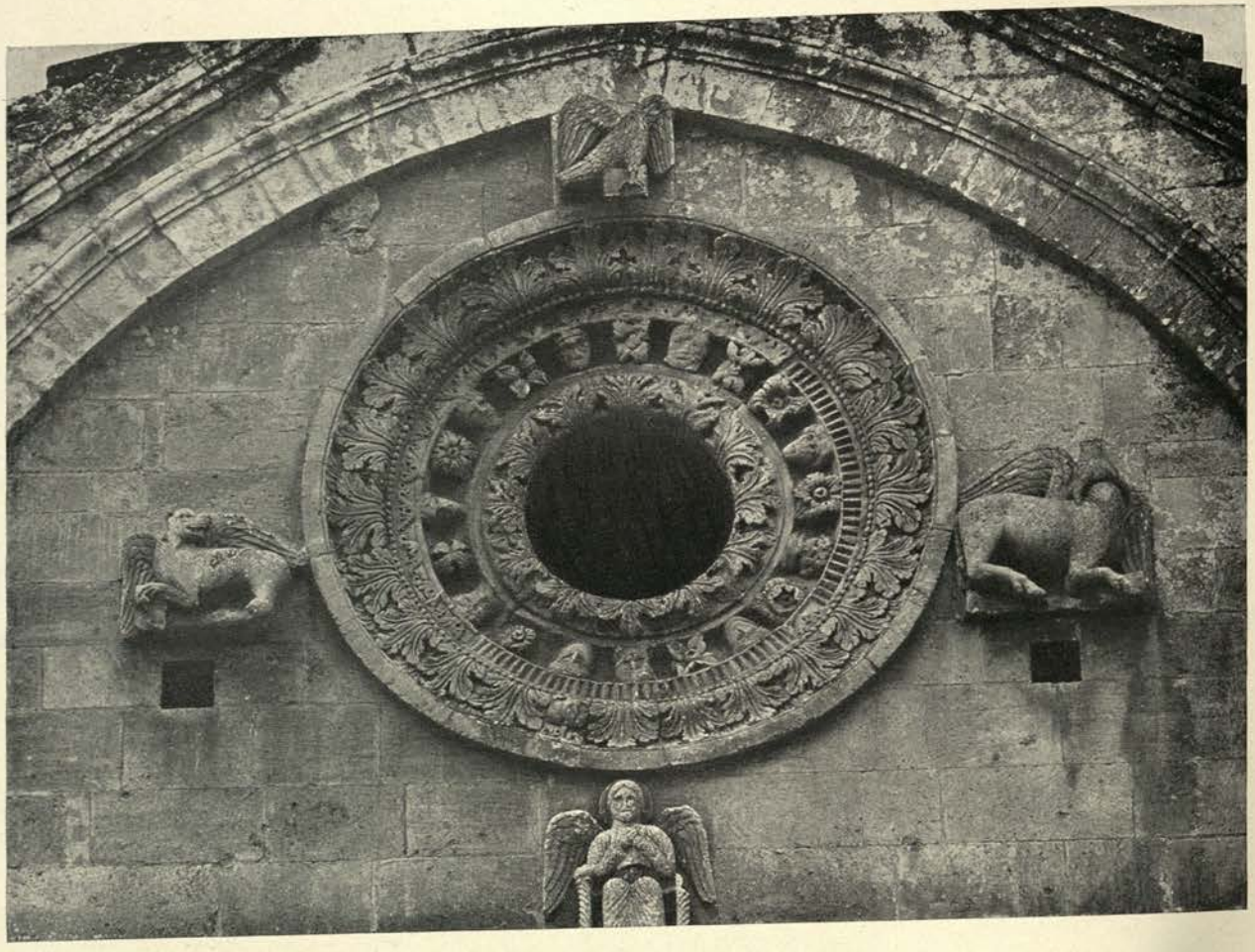
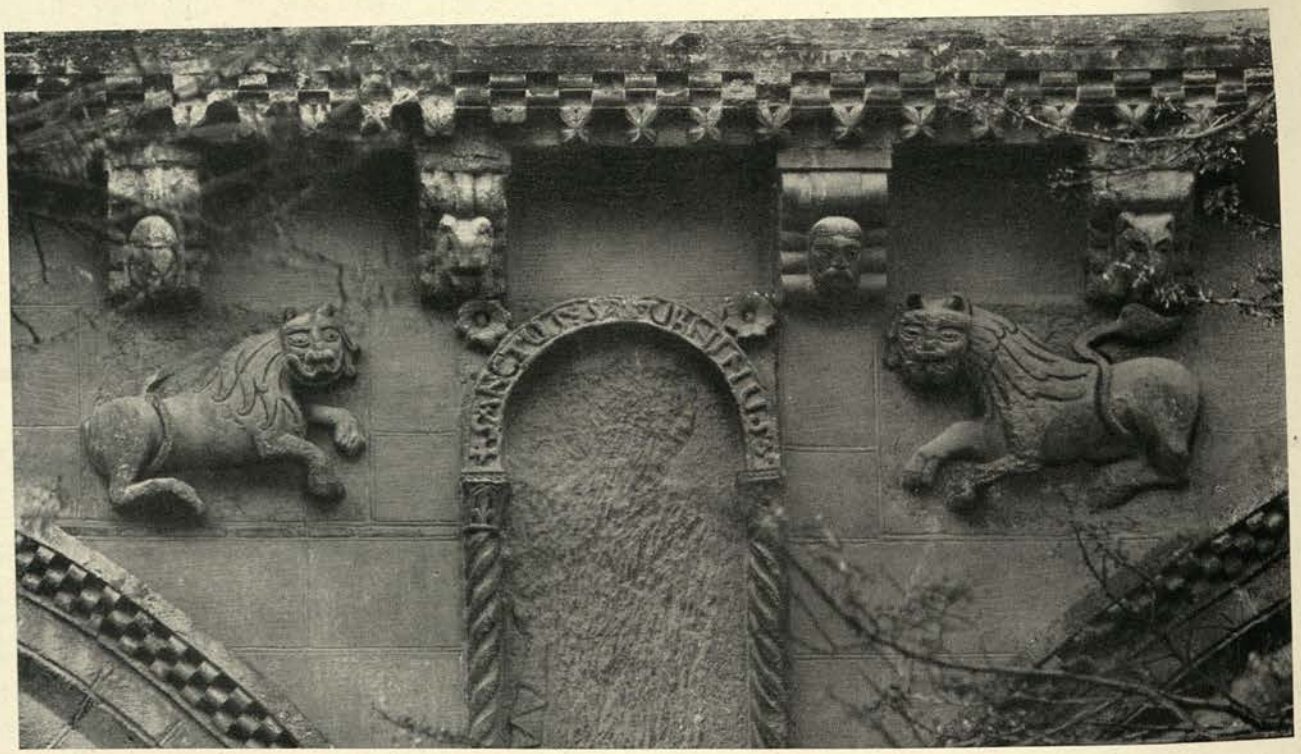
1. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Église des Cordeliers, Angel of the Annunciation (Museum). - 2. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin Maiestas Domini (about 1100). - 3. Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Église des Cordeliers, Mary of the Annunciation (Museum)





Tarascon (Bouches-du-Rhône). Saint-Gabriel, West Front, Rose with Symbols of the Evangelists.
Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, South-Transept, Detail of the Front (about 1125)

Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Sernin, West Portal, Figures of the Zodiac, Lion and Ram (Museum).
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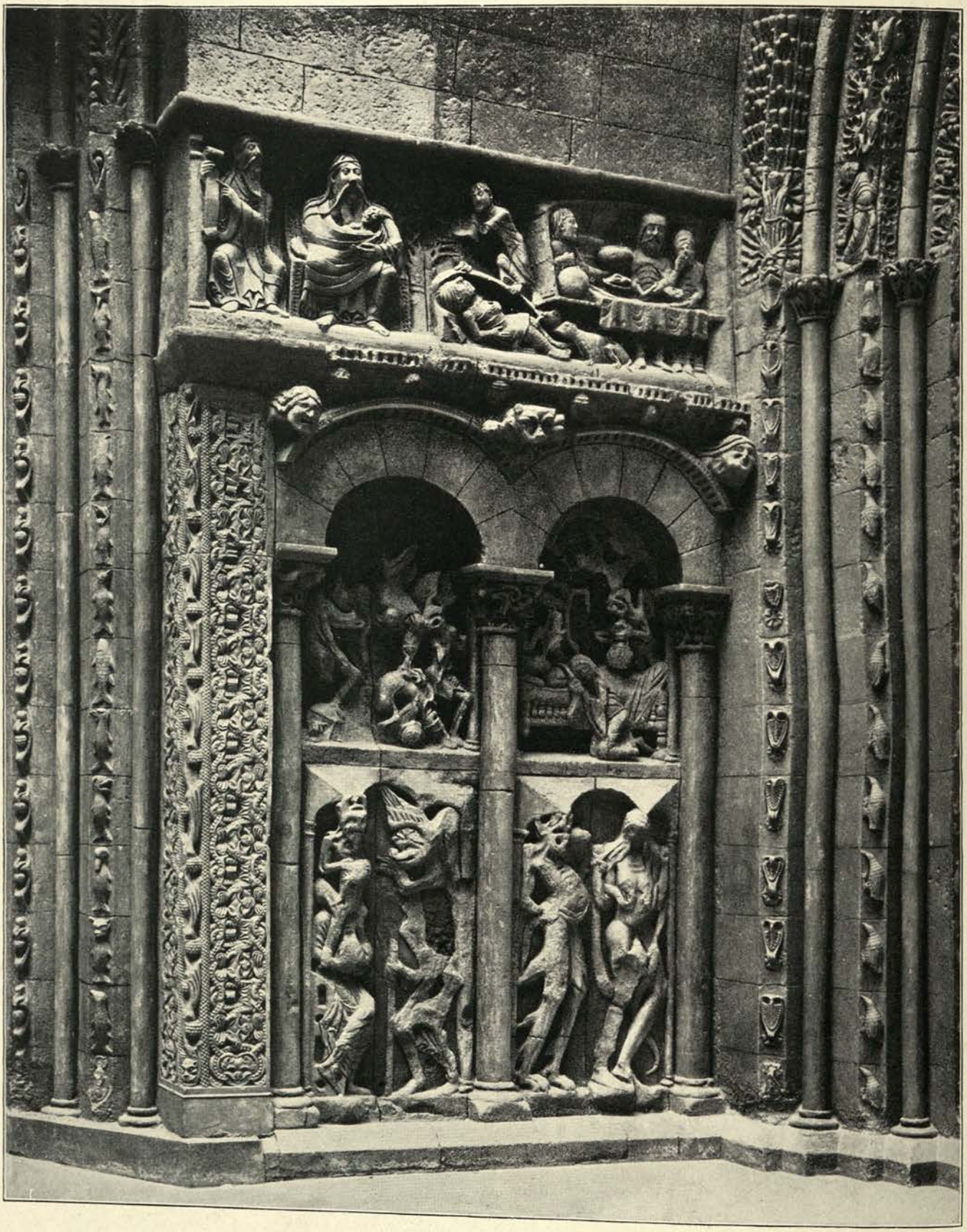
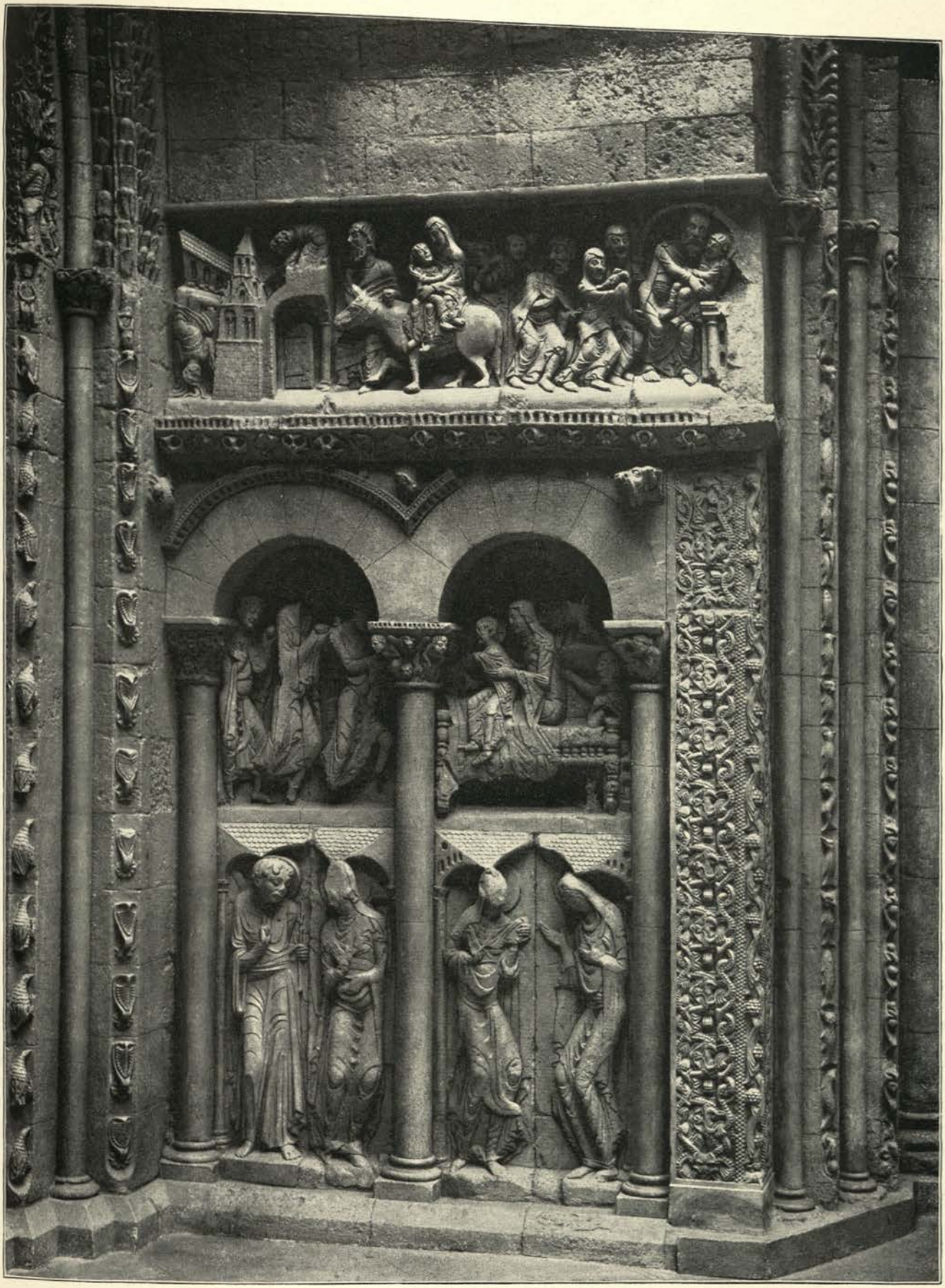
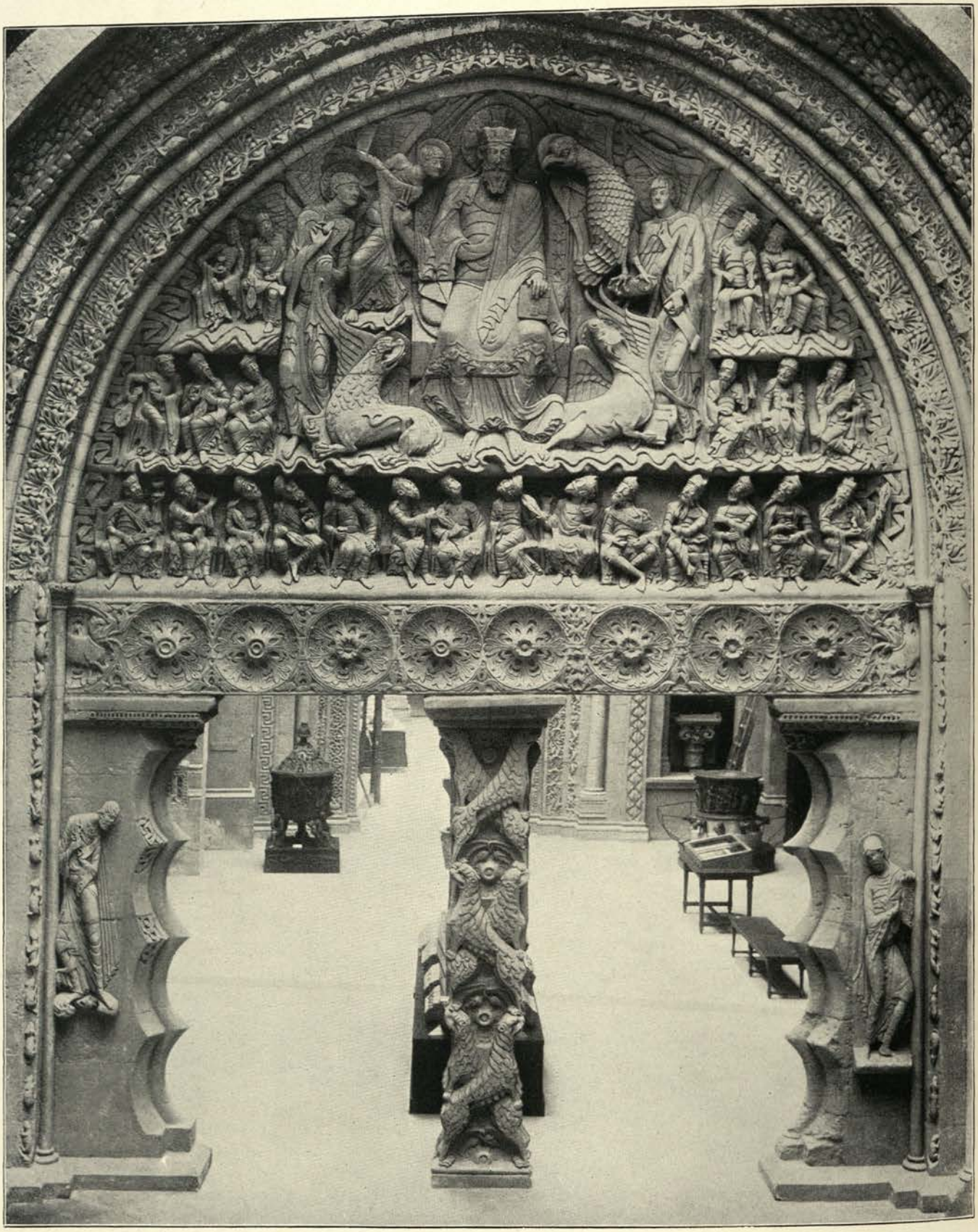
Toulouse (Haute-Garonne). Saint-Étienne, Chapter-room, Portal, Peter and Paul (Museum). By Gilabertus



Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal, Vestibule, West Wall



Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal, Vestibule, East Wall



Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal (Tympanum about 1140, Peter and Isaiah about 1170)

Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal, East Wall, Annunciation and visitation (about 1170, Angel restored)

Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal, Peter from the West Pillar (about 1170)

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Angoulême (Charente). Museum, Relief of a Griffon.
Cahors (Lot). Cathedral, North Portal, Tympanum, Ascension, Life of St. Stephanus

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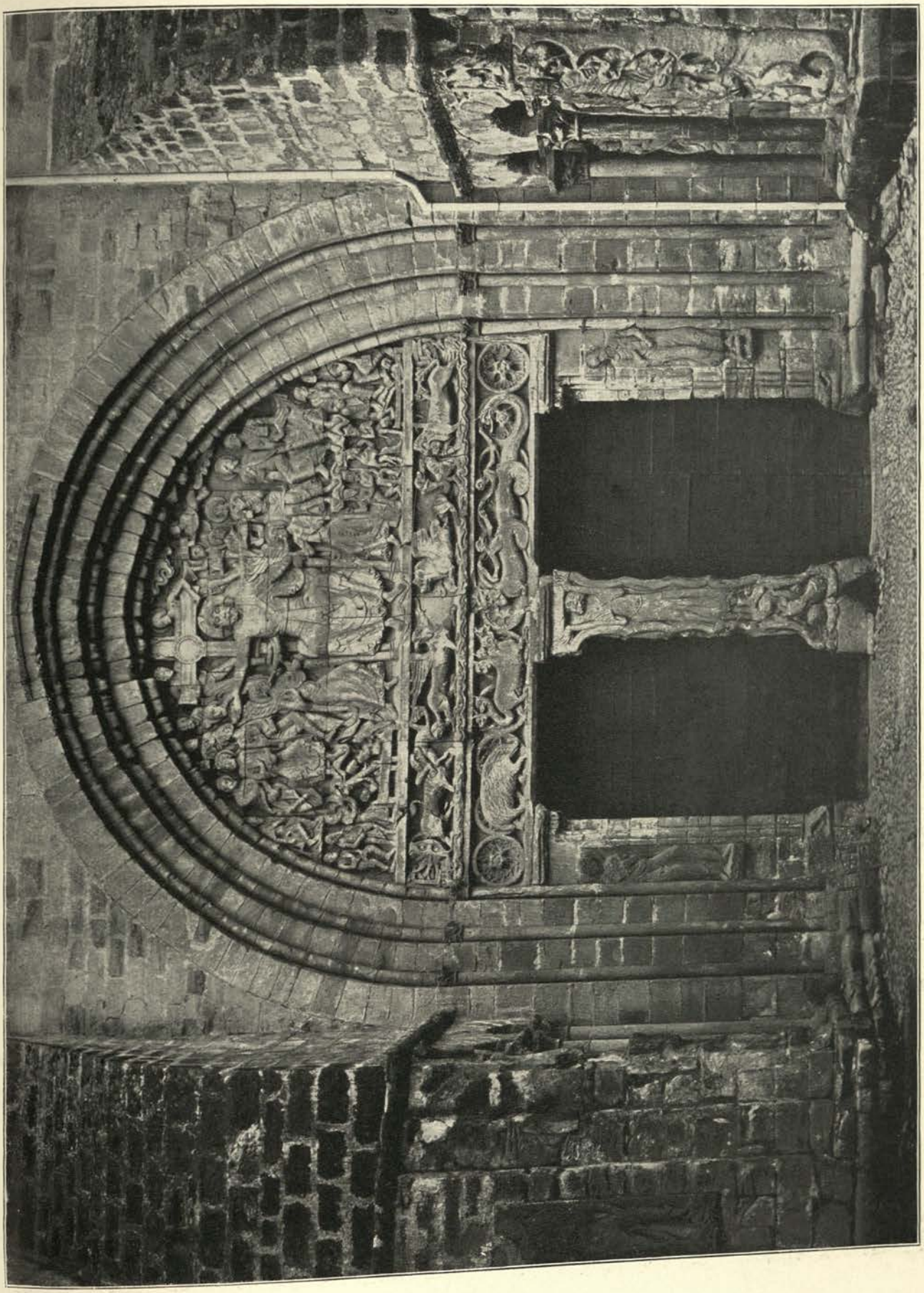
1. Souillac (Lot). Church, formerly West Portal, Central Pillar, Abraham's Sacrifice. - 2. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, South Portal, Central Pillar, East side, Apostle (about 1170). - 3. Beaulieu (Corrèze). Church, South Portal, Central Pillar, East side, Apostle. - 4. Beaulieu (Corrèze). Church, South Portal, Central Pillar, Front

Conques (Aveyron). Sainte-Foy, West Portal, Last Judgment



Beaulieu (Corrèze). Church, South Portal, Last Judgment

Cognac (Charente). Saint-Léger, West Portal, Voussure, Detail

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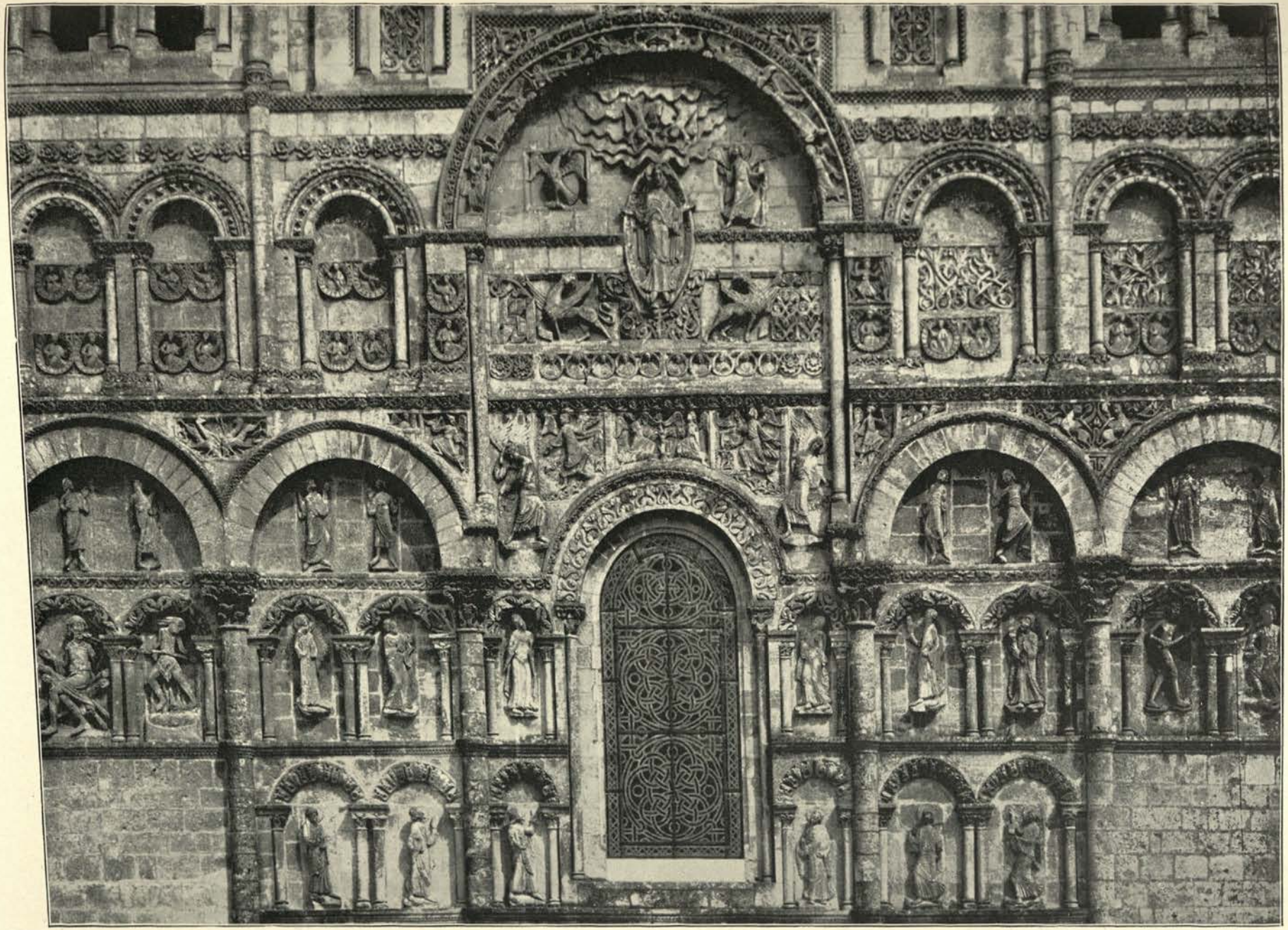
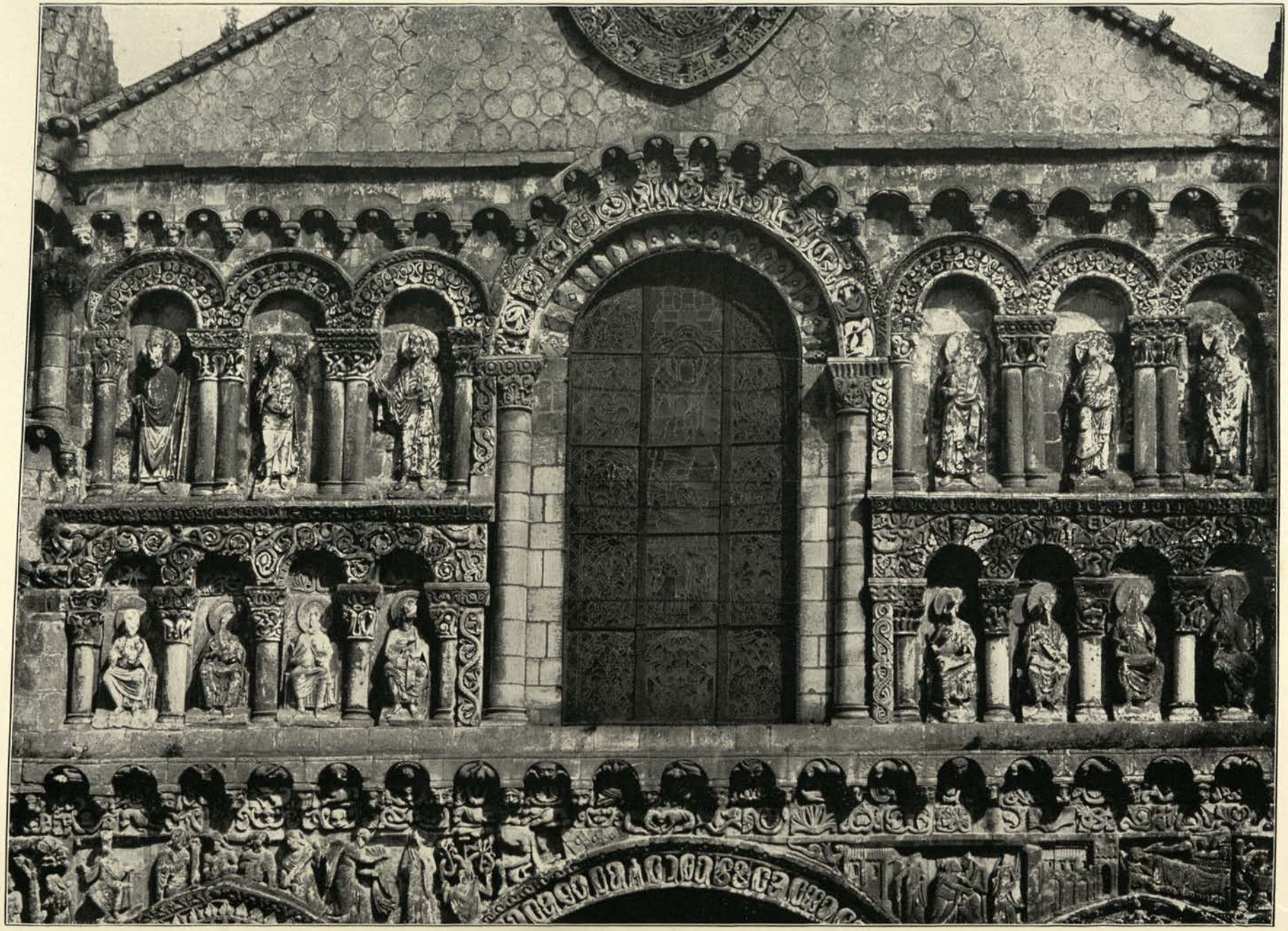
Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, Tympanum of the South Niche of the Principal Portal, St. Peter and Apostles



Angoulême (Charente). Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, Part of the West Front (finished about 1170)

Ascension, Angels, the Elect, Apostles



Poitiers (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Central Part of the West Front (after 1143)
Apostles with the Saints Hilaire and Martin

Poitiers (Vienne). Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Part of the West Front (after 1143)

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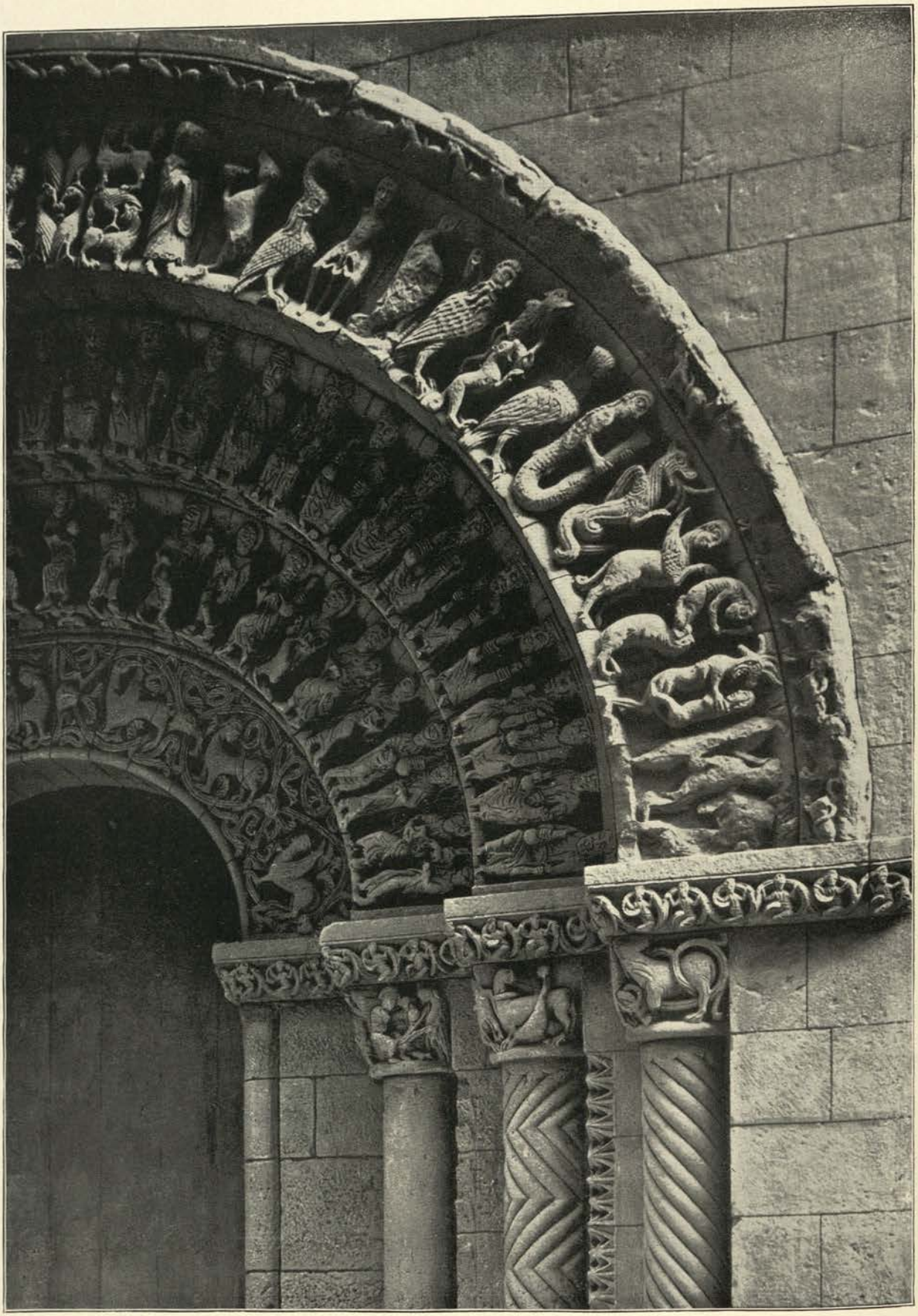
Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Pierre, South Transept, Detail of the Portal



Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure). Saint-Pierre, South Transept, Portal, Detail of the Voussure

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1. Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes (Deux-Sèvres). Church, St. John (about 1100)
2. Saint-Junien (Haute-Vienne). Church, Sarcophagus of St. Junianus, Narrow side, Maiestas Domini
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1. Chauvigny (Vienne). Saint-Pierre, Capital of Ambulatory with Adoration of the Magi, by Gofridus. - 2. Saint-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme). Church, Capital with Separation of the Elect and Damned. - 3. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Saint-Paul, Capital with Christ bearing the Cross. - 4. Issoire (Puy-de-Dôme). Saint-Paul, Capital with the Last Supper

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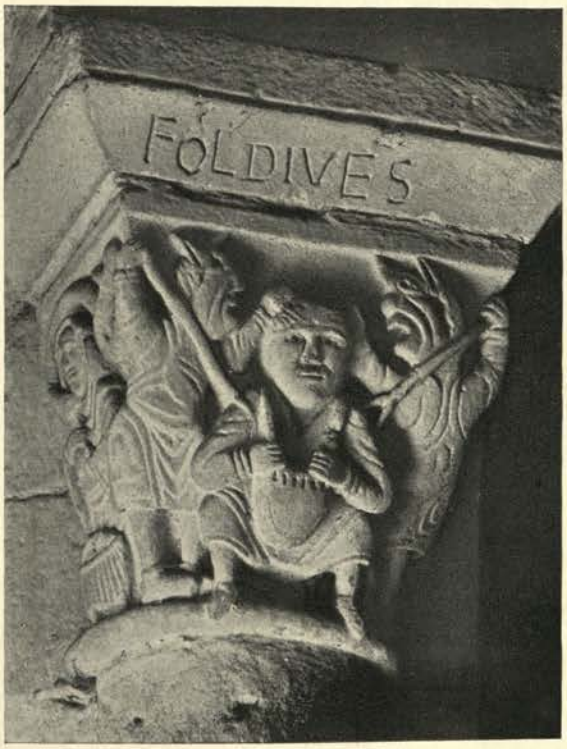

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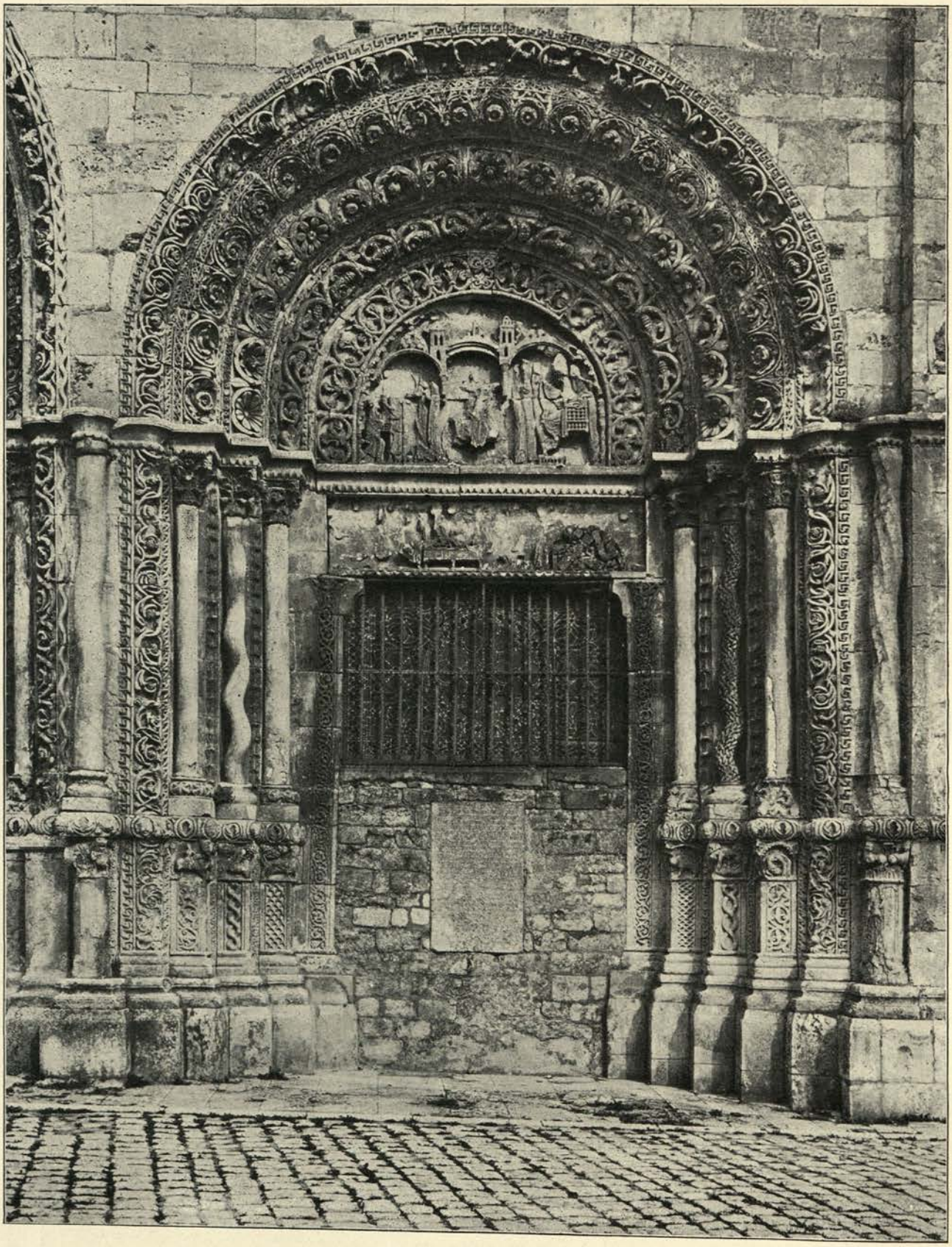
1. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Loiret). Church, Capital of the Chancel, Triforium with St. Benedict and Monk before the Virgin.
2. Saint-Pons (Hérault). Cloister, Capital with Crucifixion of St. Andrew (Montpellier, Archæol. Museum).
3. Orcival (Puy-de-Dôme). Church, Capital with Representation of the Rich in Hell.
4. Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Capital with Annunciation

Clermont-Ferrand (Puy-de-Dôme). Notre-Dame-du-Port, South Portal of the Nave (after 1145)

Maiestas Domini between Archangels; Adoration of the Magi; Presentation in the Temple; Baptism of Christ; Annunciation and Birth of Christ; Isaiah and John

La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre). Sainte-Croix, Tympanum of the South Portal (about 1160), now in Church

Maiestas Domini, Prophets, Apostles; Adoration of the Magi; Presentation in the Temple



Avallon (Yonne). Saint-Lazare, South Portal
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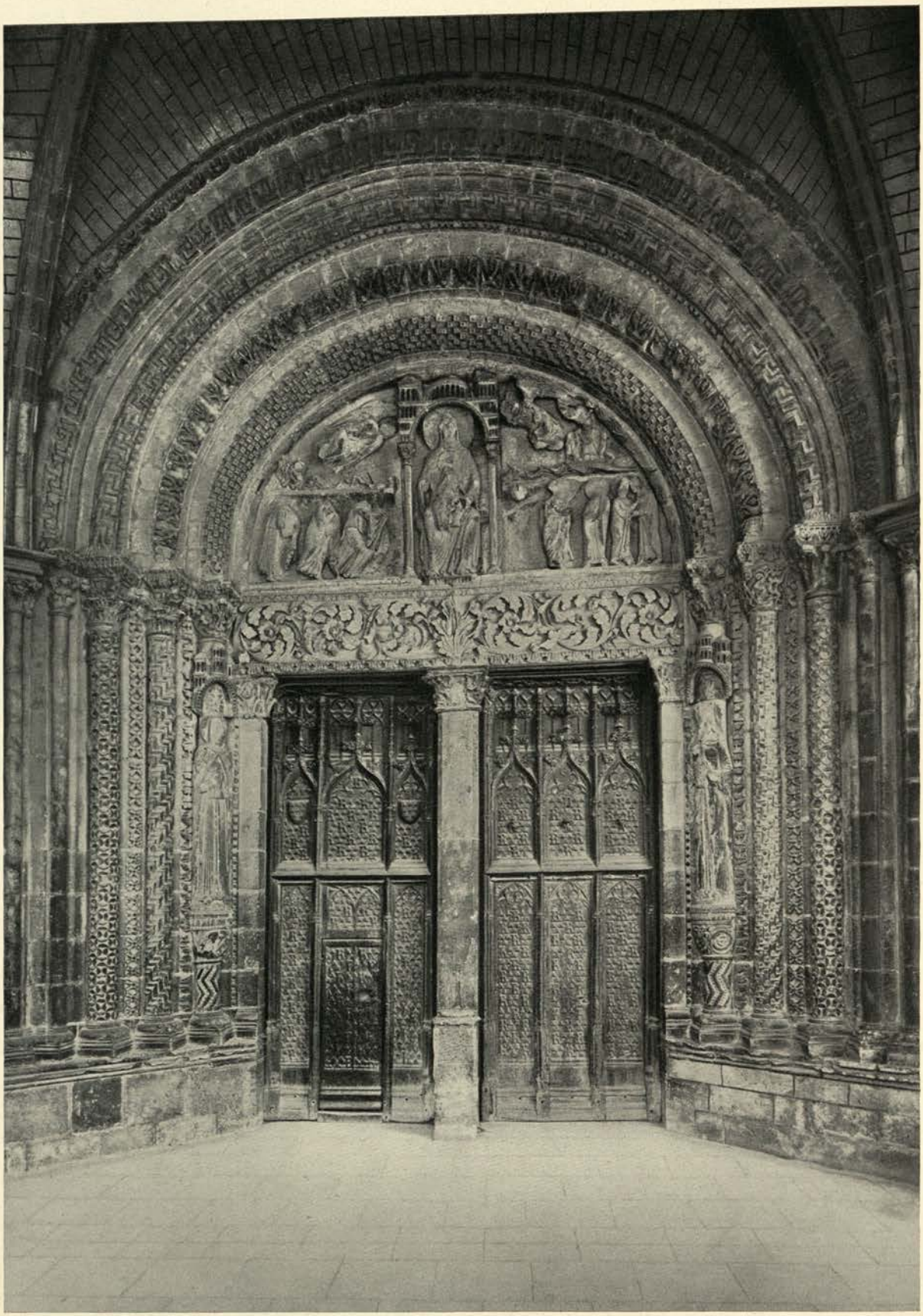
Bourges (Cher). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Capital of the South Portal of the Transept, Samson and the Lion.
Carrières-Saint-Denis (Seine). Central Piece of a Stone-Altar, Sedes sapientiae (Paris, Louvre)



Bourges (Cher). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, North Portal of the Transept
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Charlieu (Loire). Church, Vestibule, West Portal, Exterior (about 1140)

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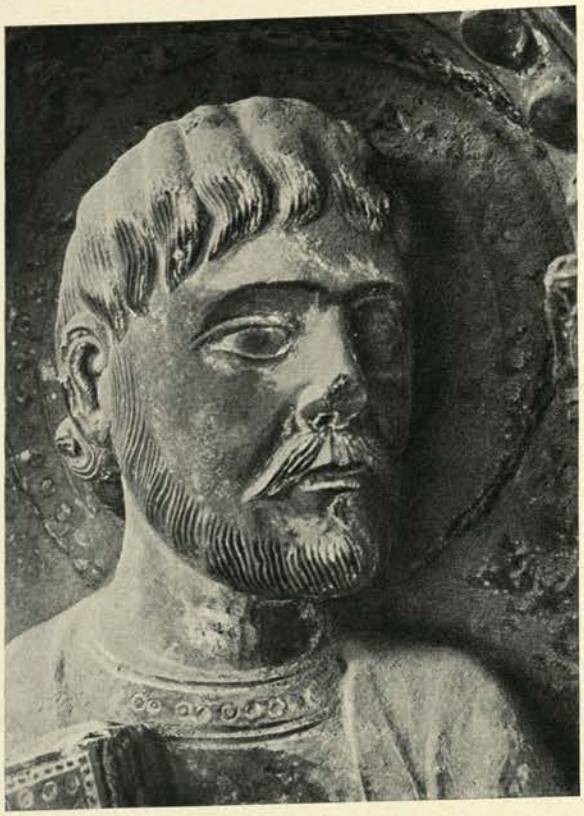
Nevers (Nièvre). Saint-Michael (Paris, Louvre)

Donzy (Nièvre). Notre-Dame-du-Pré, West Portal, Tympanum, Angel.
Cluny (Saône-et-Loire). Abbey Church, Capital, the third Tone of plain Song, about 1100 (Cluny, Musée Ochier)



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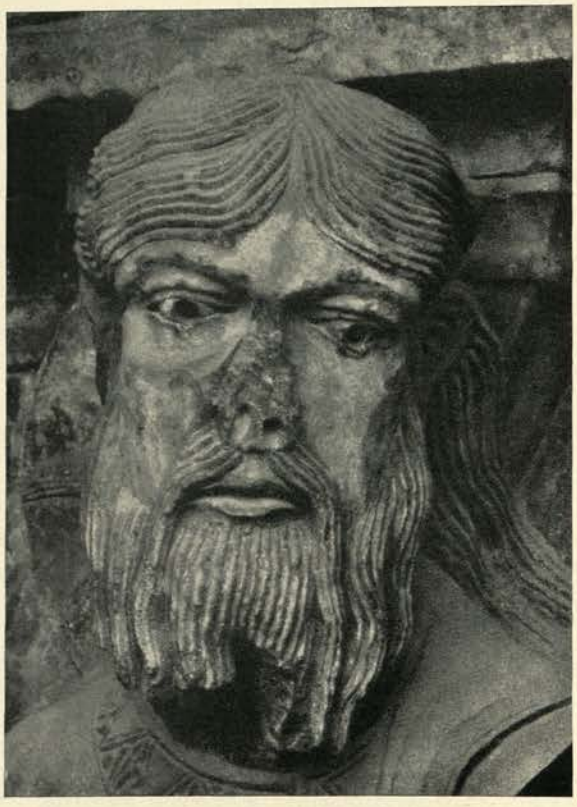

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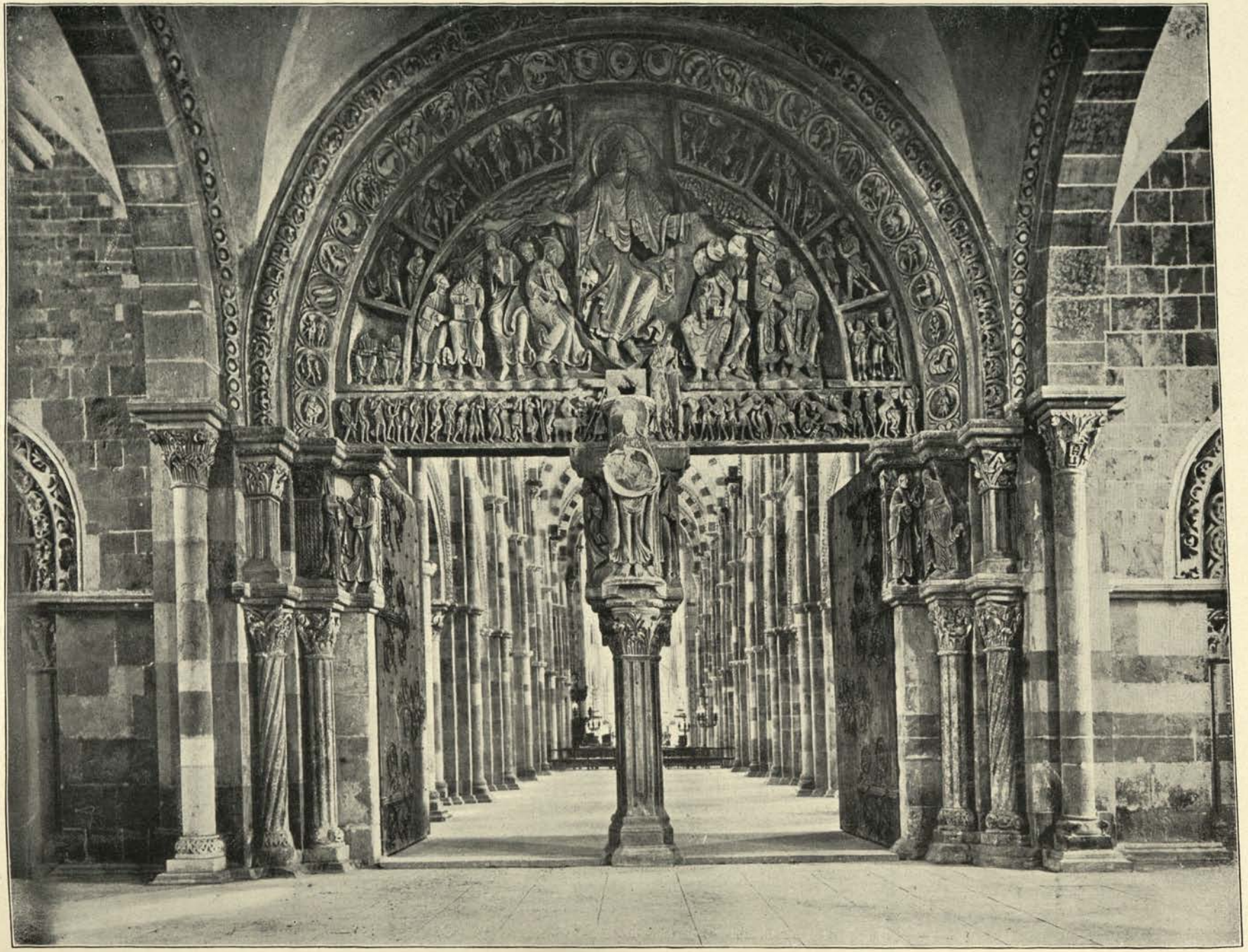
1. Bourges (Cher). Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, South Portal of the Transept, Apostle.
2. Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne). Saint-Pierre, Vestibule, West Side, Head of the Prophet.
3. Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, Wall between Central and South Portal, Apostle, Head.
4. Saint-Gilles (Gard). Church, St. Michael, next to the South Portal, Head

Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Principal Portal, Tympanum, Last Jugment, Angel near the Soul-balance, Resurrection. By Gislebertus (between 1119 and 1132)



Vézelay (Yonne). Sainte-Madeleine, West Portal (1120–1132) and Interior (1104–1120)
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Autun (Saône-et-Loire). Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Principal Portal, Last Jugment between 1119 and 1132). By Gislebertus

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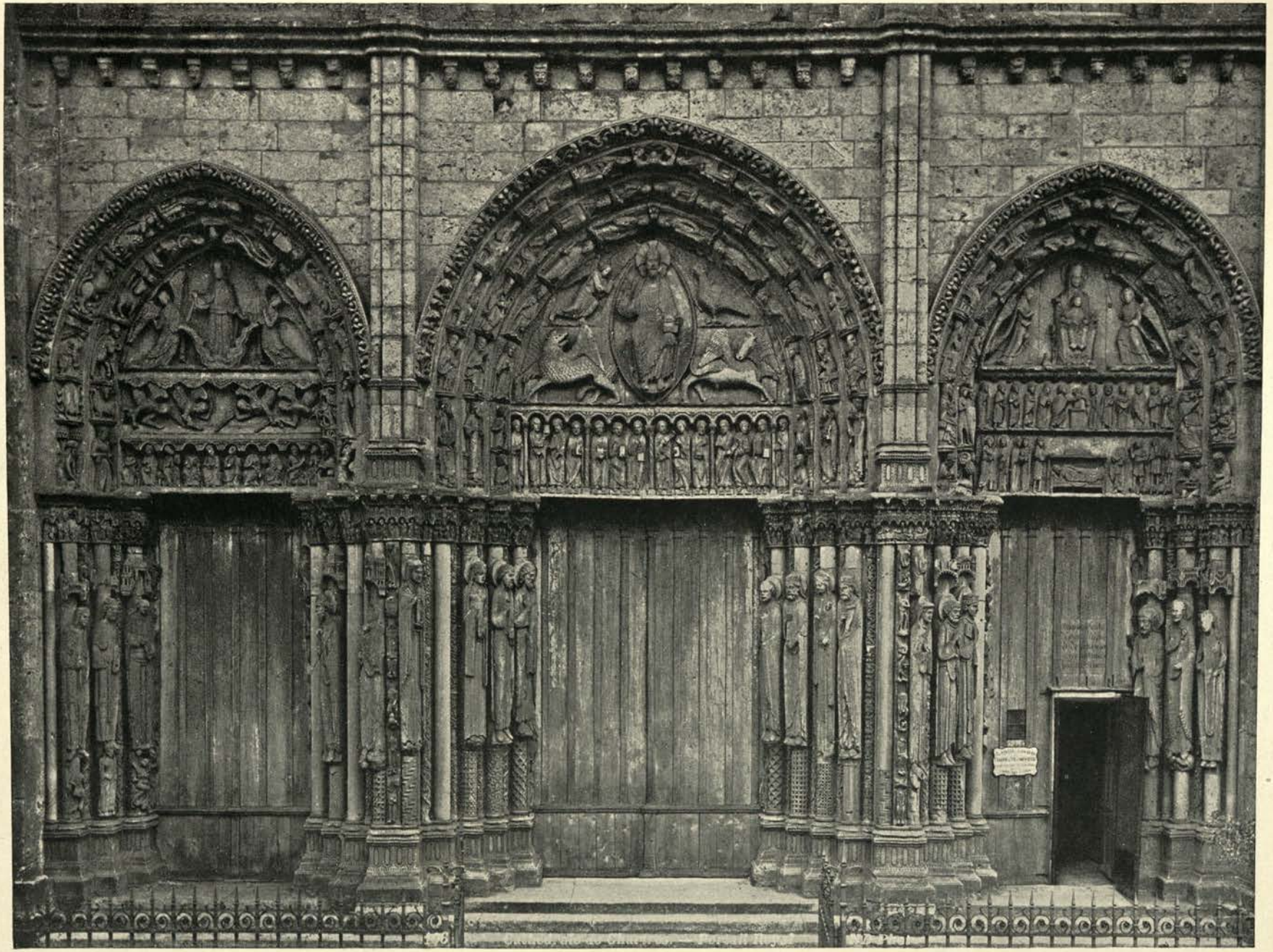
Saint-Julien-de-Joncy (Saône-et-Loire). Church, West Portal, Tympanum, Maiestas Domini, The Last Supper



Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). Cathedral, West Portal (about 1145)

Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). Cathedral, South Tower, Angel with Sundial (restored in 1578).
Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). Cathedral, Central Portal of the West Side, Tympanum, Maiestas Domini.
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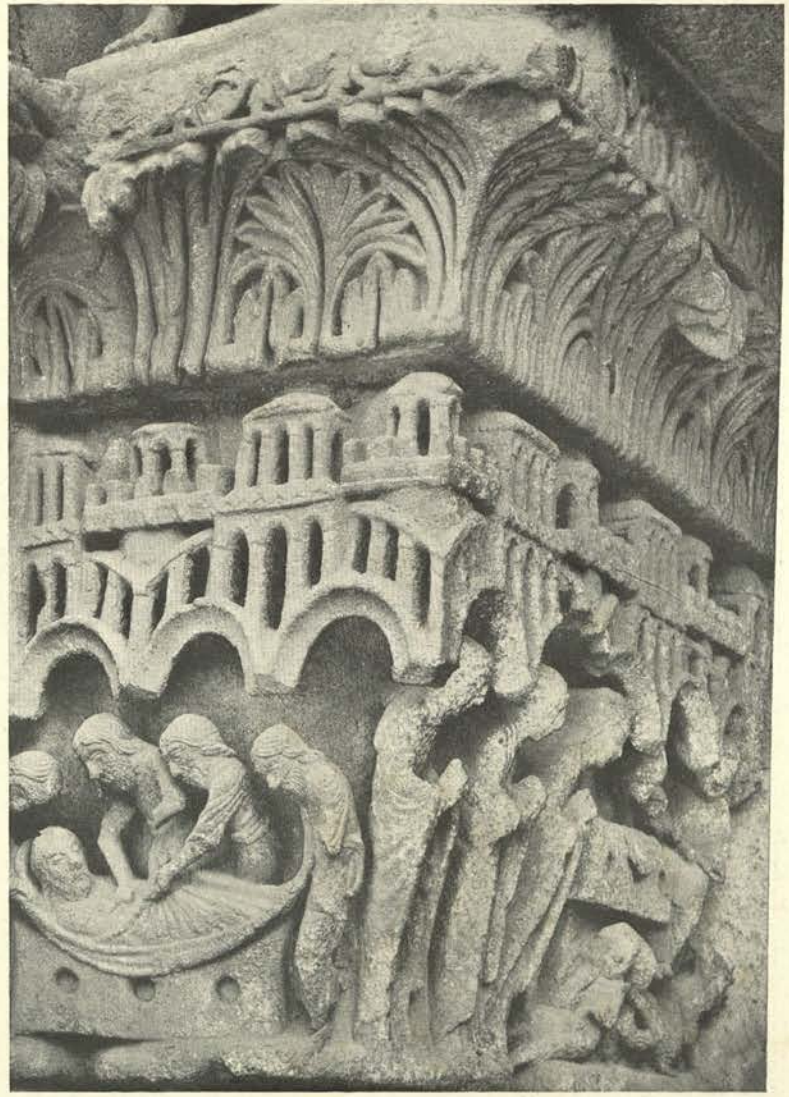

Chartres (Eure-et-Loire). Cathedral, Capital of the Pillar between the North and Central Portal of the West Front, Nativity.
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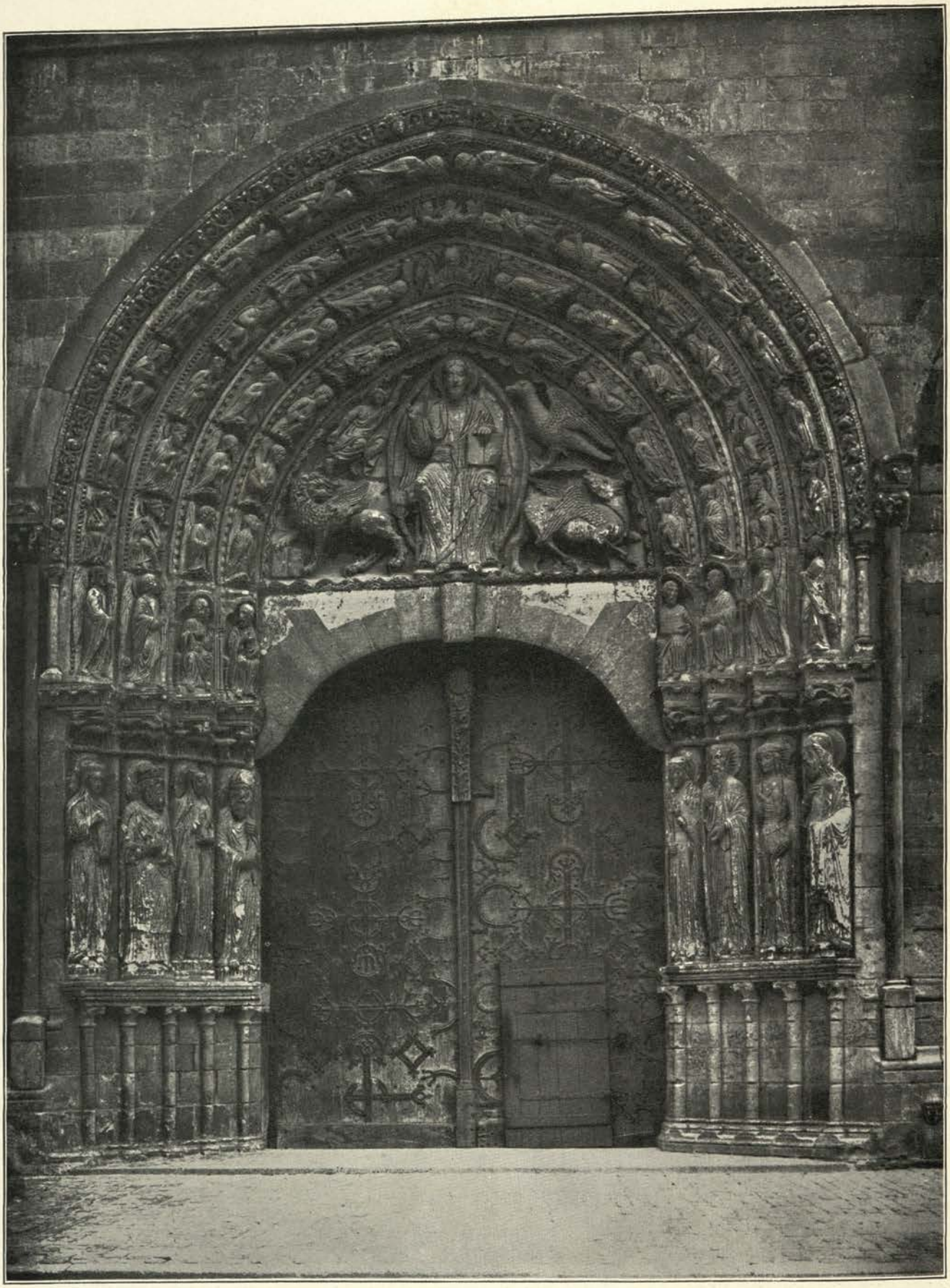
Le Mans (Sarthe). Cathedral, South Portal of the Nave, East Jambs (finished in 1158), St. Paul, Elders

Angers (Maine-et-Loire). Saint-Aubin, Cloister, Tympanum, Sedes sapientiae with Angels (after 1130)



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Bayeux (Calvados). Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Sculptures of the Nave (about 1142–1163)

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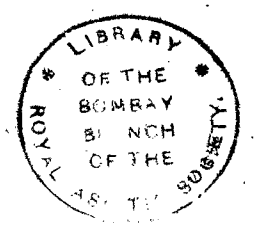

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